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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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8 March 1983

CHINA REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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PARTY AND STATE

HU YAOBANG FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENT ANALYZED

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Dec 82 p 3

[Article by Zhang Baoju: "We Must Adhere to Independence and Keep the Initiative in Our Own Hands in Our Foreign Policy"]

[Text] Conscientiously study, publicize and implement the great spirit of the 12th National Congress of the Party.

"Adhere to independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands in our foreign policy" is an essential part of Comrade Hu Yaobang's talk. For the past thirty years our country has consistently adhered to this correct foreign policy. We have established diplomatic relations with 125 nations, we have developed friendly intercourse with many nations and we have gained prestige internationally.

The practice of our foreign policy of independence and keeping the initiative in our own hand is determined by our country's character. We are an independent socialist nation that keeps the initiative in our own hands. To defend our country's independence and sovereignty, in dealing with international affairs and in international contacts, we will definitely not surrender or become dependent on anyone and certainly must adhere to the policy of independence and keeping the initiative in one's own hand. At the same time, we also do not need any country or people to depend on us. We advocate not distinguishing between big and small states and weak and strong people--all are independent and equal. Therefore, our foreign policy, which is for equality and mutual benefit and is a peaceful and friendly policy, consists of the following principles:

First, we oppose hegemonism and uphold world peace. Hegemonism is power politics. Hegemonists do not respect the sovereign control of other countries nor their foreign policies of independence and keeping the initiative in one's own hand. To oppose hegemonism one must oppose both the hegemonism of the superpowers and regional hegemonism. Struggles between the hegemonists are the principle source of war and a serious threat to world peace. Therefore, only by opposing hegemonism can we defend world peace.

Second, on the basis of the five principals of peaceful coexistence we positively develop friendly relations with other countries with equality and mutual benefit, and we constantly strengthen the unity and cooperation of their world countries. The abrupt rise of third world countries in the post-war international arena is a major event of our era. As each of the third world countries has extensive land, large populations, an abundance of resources and vast markets, the unity of third world countries is of great significance. Based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit, together we must enlarge the economic, technological and cultural exchange with each country.

Third, in our contacts with some countries we must differentiate between the upper level leadership circle and the people. The leaders of some countries are hostile to us, but the people are still friendly to us. While suitable struggle is necessary with the leaders of these countries, we should not also trouble the people of such countries.

Fourth, we must adhere to the spirit of proletarian internationalism and we must certainly support the righteous struggles of the people of each country against aggression and against oppression. Such support can take all types of forms: our moral support is absolute; we must do what we can in terms of material support; and military affairs can be taken as the point of departure on the (formal level) of foreign relations. When we adhere to these principles, we must keep independence and keeping the initiative in one's own hand as our own standpoint, for when any problems appear in our foreign contacts, we definitely cannot have any harm done to the national honor and national benefit of China. When we adhere to these principles in international affairs we must have foresight and we must be steadfast. We cannot endure manipulation by events that arise temporarily, for where we are unable to handle temporary incidents, we damage the fundamental interests of the country. We also cannot endure momentary leftist and rightist sentiments inside and outside China. When we make our position known on a number of major international problems, we must resolve the problems in terms of the long-term benefit to the state and nation. Only in this way can we implement correctly the foreign policy of independence and keeping the initiative in one's own hand.

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PARTY AND STATE

IMPROVING WORKSTYLE THROUGH CONFIDENCE IN PRACTICE

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jan 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Confidence Lies in Practice"]

[Text] Effecting a fundamental turn for the better in our party workstyle: this is a problem cadres within and without the party and the masses feel generally concerned about and urgently hope to solve. Through the study and discussion of the 12th Party Congress documents, the vast ranks of our cadres and masses already have full confidence and hope in its outcome. But there are also some comrades who shake their heads and sigh, lacking the necessary confidence. They say: "During the past few years, we have not held fewer rectification meetings, nor made less demands, nor been less determined, but we have not solved many practical problems." There is also an extreme minority of people who even think that unhealthy practices have already become "incurable diseases." While those who hold such a view and attitude are rather few, they are by no means isolated individuals. Therefore, there is necessity to give them an answer.

Why do we say that within 5 years we are bound to realize a fundamental turn for the better in our party workstyle? Such strong conviction comes first of all from a correct understanding of our party and a scientific analysis of its present conditions. Our party is the vanguard of the workers and a contingent that wholeheartedly serves the people. Inside our party are concentrated the fine elements of our working class and the Chinese people; even though some party members who joined the party during the "Cultural Revolution" did so as a result of "entry into the party by commando raid," most of them are essentially good and we cannot indiscriminately call them all "rebels." Once we objectively recall the huge changes our party and state have undergone since the smashing of the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique, especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we cannot but acknowledge the reason why the present era has become one of the best historical periods since the founding of our state is no other than the result of the vast ranks of our Communists having led the masses of the people to work hard and fight heroically; we cannot but acknowledge that even after sustaining the serious injuries of the "cultural revolution," the main ranks of our party still remain pure and strong. Precisely because the predominant aspects of our party are good, therefore it possesses sufficient healthy forces to carry our uncom-

promising struggles against those dark aspects and achieve victories. Past history has proved that our party has the power to get rid of the devious and support the forthright and overcome any negative factors and dark aspects within our party. Today, our experiences are even more numerous particularly because we have the guidance of the party central committee which is trusted by the whole party and people of the whole country and which enjoys strong unity; can there be any doubt as to the realization within 5 years of a fundamental turn for the better in our party workstyle? When we look at problems, we must distinguish the principal from the secondary. If we only look at the main current and neglect problems, we would shake our determination for a rectification of our party workstyle; that would be incorrect. If we look only at problems, exaggerate the dark aspects, substitute the whole with the parts, and neglect the principal current, then we would lose confidence in the realization of a fundamental turn for the better in our party workstyle; that would be still more wrong.

The reason why we have a strong confidence is also because of our practice during the past few years. After these few years of restoration and readjustment, the conditions of our party have already largely ameliorated and the party's prestige is also being restored and elevated; this is a fact witnessed by all. This also explains that unhealthy practices are by no means "incurable diseases." After the smashing of the Jiang Qing clique, especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th party central committee, the party central committee has always grasped tightly the party workstyle question as a question concerning the party's life and death. From examining the factional system of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary cliques, launching the discussion over the question of the criterion for testing truth, determinedly breaking through the ideological constraints of the long-existent dogmatism and individual worship, carrying out education on adhering to the four basic principles and criticizing bourgeois liberalization and rectifying the flabby and lax state on the ideological front, studying "Guiding Principles for Intra-Party Political Life" and carrying out comparative inspections, penetratingly carrying out education on our party character, party workstyle, and party discipline, up to launching our activities in a crackdown on serious criminal activities in the economic realm, investigating and handling a large batch of major cases, and carrying out anti-corruption struggle: all of these in a certain sense, are strong measures for rectifying our party. Our province during the practice has also come to profoundly feel the extreme importance of rectifying our party workstyle. From 1979 on and for 4 consecutive years we have been carrying out points of party rectification at selected points. After these few years of our energetic rectification of our party workstyle, the situation now is definitely not like some comrades have alleged, that "no problems are solved"; we should say, instead, that there have been tremendous progress in the conditions of our party, and that our party workstyle has already undergone a conspicuous turn for the better. Some aspects have already been restored up to, or exceeded the level at the founding of our state. For instance, when did our ideological line and fine tradition of seeking truth from facts achieve such popularity as they do today? Could the system of democratic centralism have gained so much respect today as it did many years ago? In the cases of having the focus of the work of the whole party shifted to economic construction, efforts have

made several times to effect the shift without success; have we not effected the shift only today and now walk in great strides to embark upon the healthy course of development? In the case of the rectification of a large number of unjust, false and erroneous cases of litigation, the correction of the erroneously classified Rightists, and the promotion of the agricultural production responsibility system, etc., could they have been imagined in the past? All of these are the irrefutable and clear evidence of the turn for the better in our party workstyle.

Some people are worried that our party rectification is going to be perfunctory and not be able to solve any problems. It is understandable to have this kind of concern, but it is nonetheless groundless. Today the party central committee and various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions are all making careful and meticulous preparations. From the situation in which our province has for 4 consecutive years carried out selected points of experiment in party rectification, the basic-level branches already subjected to rectification during the past 4 years now make up 10 percent of the total of branches across the province, party members make up 8 percent of the grand total of party members across the province. Investigation reveals that, whichever points may have been subject to readjustment, the party members' qualities and the fighting stamina of the branches all have undergone considerable elevation. Of the selected points for experiment in party rectification, there are also a small number of units that choose to cope with situations on the surface and keep a perfunctory attitude. Such are units which the masses won't pass, superior leaders at the levels above won't accept after examination; once they are discovered, they are subject immediately to rectification. The attitude of seeing that there are individual perfunctory units and then immediately underestimating the achievements of the selected points for experiment in party rectification, as well as the inclination immediately to hold a pessimistic attitude toward the overall rectification that is to be launched soon are both incorrect.

In order to increase our confidence, we must also have a correct understanding of the reason for unhealthy practices to rise in the party. The reason why our party workstyle still falls short of a fundamental turn for the better is predicated on its profound social and historical causes, just as people generally say, it is a "comprehensive disease" which is composed of many causes. The feudal ideas, bourgeois ideas, and petty bourgeois ideas left over by the old society cannot be eliminated within a short period. Many of our party members cannot but become tinged in and influenced by old ideas and old habits. Under the new conditions of carrying out the correct policy of externally opening to the outside world and internally enlivening the economy, the corrosive effects of various ideas of the exploitative classes and the bourgeois way of life have increased somewhat; our economy and culture are relatively backward, and there are still many imperfect places in our socialist system. Therefore, there is bound to be a part of those who covet enjoyment and whose revolutionary will is weak and who therefore cannot withstand the encroachment of the ideas and "sugar-coated bullets" of the exploitative classes, thus nurturing unhealthy practices or even becoming corrupt and degenerated.

So long as the social roots giving rise to unhealthy practices still exist, then the phenomena of having unhealthy practices rising within the party and causing such corruption and degeneration will be unavoidable. In this sense, the rectification of our party workstyle, opposition to corrosion and prevention of degeneration, maintenance of the party's Communist purity all constitute an important task our whole party needs to insist insidiously and struggle on a long-range basis. We must both firmly believe in the necessity of rectifying our party workstyle and see the difficulty and long-range nature of our struggles. Our problem today is to begin working with our own unit and with ourselves, to begin now and begin with leaders. We must no longer lean to the left and then cast a glance to the right, no longer shake our heads and sigh, no longer just speak and not move, or even cry about having confidence on the one hand while resorting to unhealthy practices simultaneously on the other hand. We must assert our spirit, and, with an attitude of responsibility to the party, take up the sharp weapons of criticism and self-criticism, dare to struggle, and thereby rectify our party workstyle. Where is our confidence? Our confidence lies in practice.

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PARTY AND STATE

EDITORIAL DEFINES NEW YEAR'S WORK ETHIC

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Jan 83 p 1

[Editorial: "Adapt to New Circumstances--Initiate New Situations"]

[Text] Along with the loud and strong sounds of bells we welcome the notable year of 1983!

This is the first year to initiate new situations brought forth by the twelfth great National Congress and it is the first year of the official adoption of the 6th 5-year plan. During the new year, our municipality must make new progress in every aspect of work, we must make a new atmosphere, new achievements and new contributions to increase the new splendor of the great socialist cause.

Around new year's, our municipality should arrange and work out work for the new year on every front and in every department. How do we adapt talents to new circumstances and initiate new situations?

With firm confidence and raised spirits. In the past year, the Party Central Committee led our work very effectively on a big scale. The strategic targets, deployment measures fixed at the 12th National Congress strike roots in the hearts of the people. At the fifth meeting of the fifth plenary session, the adoption of a new constitution and 6th 5-year plan further aroused the political enthusiasm and work spirit of the people of the entire municipality. By implementing the correct general and specific policies of the Central Committee, the economic work of the whole municipality changed direction: with the enhancement of economic benefits being the central pathway, our achievements get better and better. The beginning of gratifying changes occurring in the make up of leading bodies at all levels heightens the new ideological standard and economic leadership for running the state well, bringing security to the country and initiating new situations. "When the east wind comes, we see spring everywhere." With such a good material, political and ideological foundation, so long as we study with open minds, courageously and energetically try to be the first to act and are in possession of good mental conditions, we are certainly able to make very great progress in the new year over the past year.

By freeing oneself from old ideas and with determination to carry out reforms. Since the third plenum of the CPCC, of importance in terms of the

leading ideology of the Party is completing the historic task of bringing order out of chaos, although, in terms of practical work, some have still not systematically summed up our experiences and put their ideology in order. At the present we are situated in a great historic period of transition when reforms must penetrate the entire course of constructing the four modernizations. Because some comrades suffered from the influence of suspicious ideology and foreign models prior to the third plenum of the CPCGC, they frequently use suspicious eyes to view new objects and substitute things with new life with those that are old. This adversely affects their work. A poem of the Tang poet Liu Yuxi [772-842] says: "I urge you not to play the songs of a previous dynasty,/ but to listen and sing the 'Willow Branches Tune' with new refinery." We must break with old ideology and old habits, and cast off the many layers of trammels that tangle us. Our thinking must be liberated just a little more and our reforms must be just a little more daring. We must keep abreast of circumstances and be bold in making innovations.

By going deep into the realities of life, and by investigating and studying. The initiation of new situations depends precisely on going deep into the realities of life, investigating and studying, keeping abreast of new developments, working out solutions, advancing work to new stages, gaining new breakthroughs and appearing with a new countenance. The initiation of new situations must start from investigation and study. This is work of the first order, it is pivotal work. If we do not go down to research new conditions and sum up new experiences, we will invariably use yesterday's ideology to solve the problems of today and we will be unable to initiate new situations. "If you don't climb the high mountain, you won't know the height of heaven; in you don't look down into deep streams, you won't know the depth of the earth." The masses have a vast amount of creative energy. Anyone who goes to investiage and do research will then be sure to have a relatively liberated ideology, the measures they bring forward will be realistic and strong, and consequently they will swiftly open up new situations.

By respecting laws and forging ahead with confidence. We still have difficulties and contradictions in front of us. The masses of people make great demands on the Party and government. We must pay close attention and have a firm grasp of all our work, we must make every effort to get substantial results, and not devote one's efforts to get undeserved honors. When you draw up a program and do the work, everything should proceed from actual conditions, and you must both fully bring into play subjective initiatives and lay stress on the objective conditions, and act in accordance with the law. In (examining and approving affairs), you must handle matters in a decisive way. Then, so long as your orientation is correct, (and you are determined), success is assured. On no account should you start off with a bang but finish with a whimper. "A journey of 1,000 miles begins with a single step:" you must start by dealing with current work, have more work and less talk, put your words into action, go inch by inch and work steadily and make solid progress. Don't pat yourself on the back for past results or stop after getting a little knowledge of a subject, but unceasingly sum up experiences and unceasingly forge ahead.

"Blossoms must open night after night, they cannot wait for dawn winds to blow." The Central Committee of the Party has already pointed out the correct course for us. In the new year, let us go out and struggle in the spirit of making every day and every hour count.

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PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF LISTENING TO DIFFERENT VIEWS DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jan 83 p 5

[Article by Feng Yue [7458 1878]: "Pay Attention to Different Voices"]

[Text] After writing down this subject, I still have some hesitation. Similar articles have been published more than once in the last few years. What is the purpose of refrying this cold rice? Yet, on a second thought, this problem is really important and, among some comrades, it is not very properly solved. It still seems to deserve a few more words.

No one in this world knows everything, can do everything, or is always right. Even the greatest figures are no exception. Thus, we have the saying, "Even the wise are not always free of error." Even the leaders with very high levels of understanding of Marxism-Leninism and rich in working experience cannot avoid oversight, miscalculation, and even error of judgment when considering problems. Thus, for the leadership cadres, to listen more to different voices actually will have a great deal of benefit. "Listen to both sides and you will be enlightened; heed only one side and you will be benighted." Listening to different opinions will permit your accurate opinion to be proven from many sides, your incomplete opinion to be supplemented, and your incorrect opinion to be corrected. More importantly, listening to different voices by the leadership cadres will encourage people to speak up and give more people the courage to express different opinions. And this is exactly the important guarantee to bring every positive factor into play and for all our work to be properly carried out.

The more smoothly and outstandingly our work is carried out, the greater is the need to listen to different voices. Successful situations often conceal potential problems. People's thinking is also easily muddled by work achievements and mistakes are often produced under such a situation. Lessons of this kind are quite numerous in the histories of our country, other countries, and our party. At times of victory, listening a little less to the praises will not hurt our work but listening a little more to different voices will enable us to maintain a clear head, vigilance, a humble and careful working style, and a continuous forward momentum, and do an even better job.

Generally speaking, when people express the same opinion in front of leaders, there is very little to be concerned about. To express a different opinion or

even to sound an opposite note will require some courage. On the other hand, for the leaders, it naturally feels good to hear the same opinion while different voices are unavoidably hard on the ears. In actual reality, those who "are glad to have one's errors pointed out" are not too many. If you don't do it properly, the least you will get is a dirty look but you may also get a pair of small shoes to wear. As a result, many people would rather be tight-lipped and are not willing to express a different opinion. Let people speak. The sky will not fall down. On the other hand, it is extremely dangerous if people are not willing to speak or do not speak the truth.

Whether or not a cadre has the capacity to listen to different voices reflects his quality of leadership. Only those leaders who give people the courage to speak without concern are wise leaders. To achieve this, a leader cannot simply stop at the general slogans. He must do his best to create an environment and an atmosphere, encourage people to speak, and support people to express various opinions. When a person expresses a different opinion, the leadership must listen with modesty, listen with patience, and express welcome with enthusiasm. He should feel welcome when he speaks the first time, he should feel welcome when he speaks for the second time, and he should still feel welcome when he speaks for the third time. In this manner, people's concern will gradually disappear. More and more people will dare to speak out. A lively political situation will truly be created. And our party and our undertakings will be able to develop in a prosperous manner.

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PARTY AND STATE

THOROUGH UNDERSTANDING OF PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS PRAISED

Link Documents to Reality

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 7 Nov 82 p 1

[Commentary by staff commentator: "Link with Reality of Our Thinking, Solve and Understand Problems"]

[Text] How to further guide the study of the 12th Party Congress documents by the vast ranks of cadres, especially leading cadres at various levels, in our province toward a deepening process? There can be many measures, but the most important one is, on the basis of understanding the spirit of the documents, to link with the reality of our thinking and solve and understand our problems. With respect to Marxist theoretical principles, we must master them and apply them; the purpose of mastering them is entirely centered on applying them. If a group or an individual cadre can, after studying the 12th Party Congress, apply the spirit of the documents, solve a few of its or his ideological perceptual problems, and really unify its or his thinking under the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, that would constitute a great achievement and the achiever should certainly be praised. There is a deputy secretary of a county party committee in Jingjing County who, before he studied the 12th Party Congress documents could not think through the agricultural production responsibility system; the cadres below him actively sought to implement the responsibility system, but would criticize them by warning that they should not go overboard in emancipating their thinking. After he studied the 12th Party Congress documents, he realized that his own thinking was still constrained by "Leftism." Since he erred, he decided to change right away by inviting those comrades who had been subjected to his own criticism to introduce their experiences in promoting the production responsibility system. Some comrades said with deep feelings that so long as the leading group of the country party committee really succeeded in achieving an ideological breakthrough, and the whole country engages in promoting and perfecting the production responsibility system, it should then be possible to bring about a new situation. The approach of this country party committee deputy secretary is entirely correct; this is called having done very well in his study, and he deserves the full mark. If you remain satisfied merely with having viewed the documents, having studied them, or your study has been only meant for the solution of other people's ideological and perceptual problems, then even if you have read them three times or five times, you can not be regarded as having studied well; you can only be said to have failed. Therefore, an important indicator in judging whether or not you have penetratingly studied the 12th Party Congress documents is to see if you have closely linked with the reality of your own thinking and solved your main perceptual problems.

Linking with what reality of your thinking and solving what perceptual problems? Insofar as the state of our province's contingent of cadres is concerned, all should further emancipate their thinking, rectify their ideological line, assert their spirit, strengthen their unity, strengthen their sense of discipline, and reform their workstyle. Of these the main effort should be to further emancipate their thinking, rectify their ideological line; that is, to continue to cleanse away the influence of the "Left." Practice of the last few years proves that whichever place, whichever front, and whichever department fairly thoroughly eliminates the "Left" influence and can according to its own concrete conditions adhere to the line, principles and policies of the party central committee, the thinking of the cadres of that place, front or department is also more emancipated, and their courage to reform is also greater, their strides are likewise solidier and bigger, and their achievements more conspicuous. Contrariwise, wherever the influence of the "Left" is not thoroughly eliminated, the cadres there are also unable to break through those old conventions that have been constraining their minds, and there is also no creation of a new situation in socialist construction to speak of. Of course, the tendency of bourgeois liberalization must also be opposed; we must insist on fighting on two fronts. Continuing to eliminate the influence of the "Left" and simultaneously opposing the interference of the Right: these are mutually related questions; when we study the 12th Party Congress documents, we must grasp this point.

Because of the difference in regions, fronts, and departments, the conditions of their leading groups are also diverse and variable; when we try to narrow down to a specific leading group as to what reality of its thinking to link with and what main perceptual problems to solve, we must proceed from actuality and decide according to the unit's concrete conditions. In your leading group, what constitutes the main ideological obstacle that affects the creation of a new situation? Is it the question of your thinking not sufficiently emancipated or your ideological line not rectified? Is it the question of your not exerting your spirit? Is it a lack of unity? or is the question of your discipline being lax and your workstyle being devious? Whichever happens to be your principal contradiction, you should then link with and solve that question accordingly. Once your principal contradiction is grasped and solved, the thinking of your entire leading group should experience a leap, and you should be able to maintain consistency with the party central committee politically, you should be able to bring about a new situation in our socialist construction.

To really succeed in linking with the reality of your thinking and solve your perceptual problems, you must study with the spirit of rectification. Every cadre, particularly leading cadres at all levels, must dare to present your thinking and your perception openly and have them checked against the 12th Party Congress documents; whichever does not accord with the spirit and requirement of the 12th Party Congress documents we must, in the case of ourselves, be bold in carrying out criticism and, in the case of others, be daring enough to launch criticism. Naturally, such criticism is calm and composed, empathetic, rendering advice with goodwill, which may be put forward at a meeting or aired in a person-to-person chat. Only thus can we unify our thinking under the spirit of the 12th Party Congress documents through criticism and self-criticism.

Care for Intellectuals Applauded

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 7 Dec 82 p 3

[Report by Wu Yufang [0702 3768 2455], Wang Huaijun [3769 2037 0193]: "CPC Feixiang County Committee Pays Attention to Developing Party Members from the Ranks of Intellectuals"]

[Text] The CPC Feixiang county committee has further eliminated people's erroneous concepts about intellectuals and in time absorbed into the party organizations those intellectuals who meet party entry conditions. Since the 12th Party Congress, the county developed 15 party members, of whom 5 are intermediate intellectuals.

These five intellectuals who joined the party were university and secondary college graduates before the "cultural revolution"; they are in the prime of their life and progressive in their thinking; their workstyle is forthright, and they work with diligence and care and they have many times applied for entry into the party. After their applications were approved this time, their socialist enthusiasm was even further enhanced. After admission into the party, horticulturist Zhang Zifeng [1728 1311 1496] said excitedly: "My long-standing wish has now been fulfilled; I want to earn glory for the party and be a qualified Communist." Together with his comrades at the technical station today, he is preparing to handle the insect and disease treatment of 10,500-mou cotton fields next year and is in the process of signing contracts with eight villages. He plans to realize the comprehensive insect and disease treatment of the whole county's cotton within three to five years.

Correcting Prejudices

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 4 Dec 82 p 1

[Report by Zhen Desheng [3914 1795 5110], Du Guotang [2629 0948 1016]: "Xingtai County Party Committee Seriously Eliminates 'Leftist' Influence, Corrects Prejudices Against Intellectuals: Sincerely Rely on 'Ink Drinkers' in Our Four Modernizations"]

[Text] Beginning with grasping ideological work, the Xingtai party committee has corrected the prejudices of certain people in looking down upon the intellectuals and looking down upon complicated labor, and helped the intellectuals to solve their concrete difficulties in order to give scope to their wisdom and talent.

Prior to 1980, the Nanyu production brigade invited from the provincial Changli fruit tree research institute a technician by the name of Wang Hinzhang [3769 6855 4545]; under his guidance, a scientific inspection of more than 1200 mou of chestnut trees was carried out and the scientific management approach of "five changes and one strengthening" was adopted. Within two years, the chestnut production was doubled. This achievement enabled the principal leaders of the county party committee to gain this enlightenment: if Xingtai County is to get affluent, it must rely heavily on using scientific and technological talents.

At one standing committee meeting, participants carried out discussions over this question. Members of the standing committee held that the intellectuals are the treasures of the construction of the four modernizations; if we wish to make a go of our economy, we must rely heavily on using those "ink drinkers." Thus, the county party committee adopted several measures: (1) daringly promoting those intellectuals with professional knowledge and leadership talent to leading posts; (2) providing a bridge and paving the way for those intellectuals who, as couples, are separated and living in different places so as to reunite them; (3) extending assistance to those intellectuals who really experience economic difficulties in their lives; (4) providing priority care to those intellectuals whose children face difficulties in finding employment. In thus giving preferential treatment to the "ink drinkers," the county party committee was upheld by the great majority, but this also caused murmurs among some people. Some said, "Some shed blood, some shed sweat, but today neither can match the fragrance of ink." Others said, "Those who labor with their muscle are but cows; those who labor with their minds now live in tall buildings; it looks like the old stuff of 'Those who labor with their minds rule over others' is with us again." The county party committee thinks that these reactions were all remnant poison of the "Left" in looking down upon the intellectuals and in resorting to egalitarianism in distribution. In order to eliminate such "Leftist" ideas, the county party committee mainly sought to elevate everybody's perception from three aspects. One is to designate correctly the relationship between "sweat and ink," explaining that our effort to work on the construction of the four modernizations is different from the past, that we need to have science and technology take the lead, and we must rely on those "ink drinkers." The second is to elucidate clearly why the intellectuals' labor is very complicated labor. The value created by the intellectuals' labor within the same period of time is far higher than that created by simple labor, and it accords with the socialist principle of distribution of "to each according to his work, and more distribution for more work" to grant the intellectuals more in salaries. The third is to make clear that differences still exist in a socialist society. In the historical state of socialism, there still exist differences such as those between mental labor and physical labor, between the cities and the countryside. In the present stage in which such differences do exist, the relations between persons are equal; the difference between mental labor and physical labor lies merely in social division of labor with no question of who "rules" over whom involved.

After turning their thinking around, people all began to take the intellectuals as "treasures" by trusting them politically, supporting them in their work, and looking after them in the living conditions. Since 1980, the whole county promoted among its intellectuals 247 cadres at the section level and above, of whom three entered the county party committee and leading groups of the county government. The county leadership also has administered a technical appraisal of 1235 technical cadres, of whom 227 were promoted to become engineers and assistant engineers and 50 technical personnel also joined the CPC. Family members of 33 households of middle-aged intellectuals who "sink deep at one end" were transferred from agricultural households into households of commercial food-grains, and housing problems were solved for more than 150 households that lacked adequate housing. Special care and preferential treatment were also extended in their living conditions to those technical cadres who have made considerable contributions.

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG'S ZOUPING COUNTY APPEALS FOR REDUCTION OF MEETINGS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 18 Jan 83 p 4

[Article by staff reporters, Zhang Xinchun [1728 2450 6591] and Song Xiwen [1345 3556 2429]: "County and Commune Cadres Cannot Cope With the Excessive Number of Meetings; Appeals to Upper Level Leading Organizations To Change Working Style"]

[Text] During the recent visit by these reporters to Zouping County in Shandong Province, the responsible persons of the county and its bureaus reflected on their inability to cope with the excessive number of meetings. They hoped that the leading organizations of the central government, province, and prefecture would change their working style and reduce the number of meetings.

Statistics compiled by the office of the county party committee of Zouping County show that from 1 July to late December of last year [1982] 50 meetings were called by provincial and prefecture level organizations alone, for a total meeting time of 174 days. For meetings where the various systems directly under the county received direct notifications and where notifications were in the form of printed documents, there was no way to account for their number or the days they accounted for. Generally, all these meetings required that participation be led by the county party committee secretaries in charge of the work involved or by the head of the county. Upon return, reports also had to be made to the standing members of the county party committee and this was to be treated as a core task to be carried out.

They reflected that with the excessive number of meetings there is really no way for responsible comrades of the county party committee and county government to lead the participation each time. The members of standing committee of the county party committee also must take turns to listen to the meeting reports. Recently, the standing members had to listen to five meeting reports in one day and basically had no time to study the problems of implementation.

They said that right now the various departments all emphasize the importance of their own work and ask the county party committee to treat it as a "matter of first importance." For example, such matters as planned birth, contract signing, winter training of party members, and three fixed quotas for forestry are all to be treated as core work to be conscientiously carried out. As a result, there is no way to handle all of it. Some commune cadres said that what we have now is: "emptiness in the county (all have gone to meetings), confusion

in the commune, a mess down below, this is "rush," that is "to do." The result was that priorities become nonpriorities and nonpriorities became priorities.

They hope that the leading organizations of the central government, province, and prefecture will change their working style, come down to solve problems, and correct the tendency of only being concerned with calling meetings to make arrangements and not making investigations to determine the condition of implementation. In this manner, not only is the piano played but there will also be accompaniment. It will also conserve people's time so that the county and commune cadres will have more time to go to the basic levels to investigate, study and solve problems.

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CSO: 4005/409

PARTY AND STATE

SHORT MEETINGS TO SOLVE PROBLEMS PRACTICED IN HEBEI

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jan 83 p 1

[Article by staff: "Hebei Provincial CPC Committee Reforms Meeting Practices; Devotes Effort to Investigations and Study; Holds Short Meetings To Solve Problems"]

[Text] Based on 20 January, HSINHUA NEWS AGENCY dispatch from Shijiazhuang. Starting with efforts devoted to investigation and study, the Hebei provincial CPC committee reformed its meeting practice, holds short meetings, and holds meetings to solve problems.

Recently, the Hebei provincial CPC committee called a meeting of all secretaries of prefecture, municipal, and county CPC committees to discuss and study ways to further create a new situation for the agriculture of the province. During the planning of this meeting, related departments presented eight discussion topics to the provincial committee. The provincial committee believed that the topics were too many, problems to be solved were not very clearly defined, and that it would be better to first find out the conditions before calling a meeting. As a result, the standing members of the committee went to various rural areas, cities and municipalities, mountain regions, and plains to make investigations and studies. Based on a mutual exchange of information between the standing members, three discussion topics were established for the meeting. Related departments were given the responsibility to take 18 of their cadres, organize them into investigating groups, and conduct new investigations based on the three topics. After three documents had been drafted, the provincial committee again sent the investigating groups, with the drafts in hand, to separately visit various levels of leading cadres and the masses to obtain their opinions. Starting with its investigation, the provincial committee spent more than 3 months in deliberations, defining the discussion topics for the meeting, and completion of the meeting documents. As a result, the meeting itself took only 8 days and it concentrated on the discussion of the three documents with the main topics presented prominently, simply and realistically.

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CSO: 4005/409

PARTY AND STATE

SHANGHAI PARTY COMMITTEE PREPARES FOR PARTY CONSOLIDATION

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Dec 82 p 1

[Article: "The Chinese Communist Shanghai Municipal Party Committee Resolves to use the First Half of 1983 to Strengthen Party Member Education in Preparation for Party Consolidation, Municipal Party Committee Convenes Party Member, Cadre Conference to Make Deployments, Conference Attended by Comrades Chen Guodong and Hu Lijiao"]

[Text] The Chinese Communist Shanghai Municipal Party Committee yesterday (the 23rd) concluded a conference of party members and cadres in which deployments were made to carry through the spirit of the All-China Party Member Education Work Conference and the All-China Rural Political Thought Work Conference. The Municipal Party Committee resolved that from now on through the first half of 1983, party organizations on all levels must primarily use the contents of the new party constitution in carrying out basic theoretical education of party members in Marxist-Leninist, Mao Zedong Thought and should educate them in communism and party line, direction and policy as well as educate them in basic party knowledge and Communist Party membership standards. The purpose is to make ideological preparations for party consolidation next winter. This will allow the educational work, political thought work and party construction work of the entire municipal party membership to make new advances and manifest a new atmosphere in the new year.

The conference was attended by over 1,000 people, including Shanghai Municipal Party Committee members Chen Guodong [7115 0948 2767], Hu Lijiao [5170 4539 2403], Zhong Min [6945 3046], Xia Zhengnong [1115 1767 6593], Yang Shifa [2799 1102 3127] and Chen Qinhua [7115 6930 5478]; the responsible persons and commune and brigade party secretaries from all departments, commissions and offices; each prefecture, county and bureau; the party committees of colleges, technical schools, institutes and schools; party and other organizations as well as the propaganda departments.

The conference opened on 15 December and concluded on 23 December, a total of 9 days. The conference was chaired by Comrade Zhong Min. Chen Qiwu [7115 0366 0063], Deputy Director of the Municipal Party Committee Propaganda Department, Gao Yang [7559 2254], Deputy Director of the Municipal Party Committee Organization Department and Li Xueguang [2621 1331 1684], the Secretary of the Municipal Party Committee Propaganda Department each spoke to the conference regarding the spirit of the All-China Party Member Education Work Conference and the All-China Rural Political Thought Work Conference. The comrades attending the conference engaged in enthusiastic discussions and noted that this was the first time since the founding of the nation that the Central Committee of the Party and the Municipal Party Committee had convened special conferences to discuss the strengthening of party member education and the strengthening of rural political thought work. The concluding session of the conference was chaired by Comrade Chen Guodong and Comrade Hu Lijiao presented the summary report.

Hu Lijiao said that this year the entire party had effectively performed a great amount of work and that the overall political situation and economic conditions were better than had been expected. The strategic goals, steps and actions decided upon by the 12th Party Congress have already become planted in the minds of the people. The results obtained during the 5th Session of the 5th National People's Congress will definitely make progress in arousing the political enthusiasm of the people of Shanghai. New improvements have been made in opening up fresh conditions in leadership experiences and ideological standards on all leadership levels and among the broad cadres. All the above are material, political and ideological foundations for us to make new progress in 1983 and are new resources for us to use in forcefully struggling for new victories. The year 1982 will soon be over with. We hope that there will be new progress in the coming year. On all battlefronts, in each unit and from every cadre and party member there must be a new atmosphere, new accomplishments and new contributions to add new glory to our great endeavors.

The conference noted that after the 12th Party Congress, the Central Committee of the Party quickly convened the Party Member Education Work Conference and the Rural Political Thought Work Conference, that there are preparations for convening Staff and Worker Political Thought Conferences and political thought work conferences on other battlefronts and that next winter the party consolidation will get under way. All of this indicates that in order to carry out the precise program formulated by the 12th Party Congress and initiate new conditions in building socialist modernization, the Central Committee of the Party attaches extreme importance to strengthening political thought work, strengthening party member education work and strengthening party building work. The conference took a firm resolution to support

this great series of actions by the Party Central Committee to strengthen party work and moreover requested that all municipal party organizations sincerely carry out this series of actions. This will guarantee that great advances will be made in carrying out the great tasks of the 12th Party Congress.

The conference discussed five aspects of the importance of strengthening party member education work. These five aspects are: 1. Our party holds political power and therefore must strengthen party member education. 2. In order to make progress in restoring order from chaos it is necessary to strengthen party member education. 3. In order to open up new areas in building socialist organization it is necessary to strengthen party member education. 4. In order to strengthen the building of socialist spirit and culture and the building of socialist democracy it also is necessary to strengthen party member education. 5. In order to make ideological preparations for the party consolidation work next year and to carry out a change for the better in party style it is even more necessary to strengthen party member education. The conference noted that whether or not the great tasks decided upon by the 12th Party Congress can be completed depends upon whether or not our party will be able to build itself into a strong nucleus capable of leadership in constructing socialist modernization. This also is the importance of strengthening party member education work.

The conference also made a precise analysis of the conditions in the ranks of the Shanghai party membership. It was noted that the main trend in the ranks of the Shanghai party is good and that there is strength to carry out struggle. Comrades who joined the party during the "Great Cultural Revolution" are limited to the historical conditions of those times and understand very little of the party's basic theory, basic knowledge and superior traditions. These conditions can be changed through education. The majority of them are good or fairly good and some comrades who committed one error or another were enabled by education to make various degrees of progress after the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially after the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Congress. Those comrades who committed errors, and this includes those comrades who committed serious errors, with explicit education and help they also can be made to feel the warmth of the party organization. They need only reform and there will be no discrimination against them.

However, it also must be noted that Shanghai was the starting point of the "gang of four," there are deep scars from the 10 years of chaos and the remaining poisons of "leftism" run deep. These factors cannot be ignored. There also are some party members who retain varying degrees of tendencies toward liberalism, who talk about material benefits, are greedy for money and expose their ideas of individualism. There are some party members who are satisfied with present conditions, who are conservative and

who lack a spirit of enthusiastically forging ahead and bravely daring to explore. There are some party members who lack the concept of a party, who lack the spirit of criticism and self-criticism and who have weak organizational discipline. There also is an extremely small number of party members who violate laws and discipline, who are degenerate and who even break the law. Therefore, we must see to it that the ranks of the Shanghai party members have good guidance and also must see whether or not the three "inadequacies" and three "impurities" actually exist. There ought to be strengthened party member education and party consolidation to resolve the three "impurities" in ideology, style and organization and there should be strengthened party member education to resolve the issue of the three "inadequacies" in carrying out the party's ideological line, political line and organizational line. These efforts will permit the improvement of the quality of political ideology among the broad party members and cadres, will permit a relatively great improvement in party style and moreover will stimulate a turn for the better in the whole social atmosphere.

The conference noted that these efforts in party member education should be based on the contents of the new party constitution. The entire party membership, cadres of all levels and leadership, cadres especially ought to be living examples, should reflect the party constitution and should consciously make comparisons and analyses to see which aspects have already been attained or fundamentally attained and in which aspects they still are lacking. They should promote the spirit of the Yen'an rectification and should consciously undertake comradely criticism and self-criticism.

The conference made arrangements for carrying out the spirit of these two conferences held by the Party Central Committee and the spirit of this conference held by the Municipal Party Committee in order to emphasize the fact that party organizations of all levels must strengthen their leadership over political work and party member education work, break free from the everyday administrative affairs, overcome the condition of "the party not running the party," and reach out their arms to use even more time to properly run the party and properly educate party members. The ranks carrying out the educational work of the city's party members must be reorganized, improved, replenished and strengthened.

11582
CSO: 4005/412

PARTY AND STATE

SHANGHAI STRESSES STUDY OF 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Dec 82 p 1

[Article: "Municipal Party Committee Issues Five Point Circular Requiring that Party Committees on All Levels Must Truly Strengthen Their Leadership Over Study, Unite Study of the National People's Congress Documents with that of the 12th Party Congress Documents"]

[Text] The Chinese Communist Shanghai Municipal Party Committee has just issued a circular which calls for progress in close study of the 12th Party Congress Documents and moreover has adopted a resolution which extends the first stage of study of these documents to the first 10 days of February, 1983 (just prior to the Spring Festival). The circular pointed out that for the last two months the great majority of units in the city have attached importance to leadership in the study of the 12th Party Congress documents with fairly apparent results. However, all units on all battle lines have not achieved a balance in their study and, from a look at the ideological problems and problems of understanding that have arisen in study, it appears that it will be necessary to study hard in order to grasp the spirit of the documents and improve people's understanding.

The circular suggested five points for the close study of the 12th Party Congress documents: 1. Unite the study of the 12th Party Congress documents together with the study of the constitution adopted by the 5th Session of the 5th National People's Congress, Comrade Peng Zhen's report on the draft of the constitution and Comrade Zhao Ziyang's report on the Sixth Five Year Plan. The cadres and masses must be organized to carry out broad-ranging yet close study of the constitution, and there must be special education and supervision of the broad party personnel to take the lead in paying respect to the constitution. 2. While closely studying the 12th Party Congress documents, all city party members must be organized to sincerely study the new party constitution and leadership cadres must show the way of proper study. All levels of party schools and all levels of party organizations should conduct rotating training classes for party

members and cadres and should organize study of the new party constitution. Whoever has already conducted rotating training classes but has not organized study of the new party constitution should conduct a supplementary class at a suitable time. 3. There must be complete comprehension of the spirit of the documents, a sincere integration with ideological realities and resolution of all ideological problems. The leadership groups on all levels of party organizations should look in retrospect at the process of restoring order from chaos since the 3rd Party Plenum to discover what their understanding was of the line, direction and policy formulated by the Central Committee of the Party and determine which aspects were properly carried out and which aspects are still inadequate and why, sincerely sum up the lessons of these experiences, genuinely unite their ideology with the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, and maintain political consistency with the Central Committee of the Party. 4. It is necessary to distinguish dissimilar targets and put forth dissimilar demands. The study of leadership cadres above county Youth League level must be greater both in amount and in depth of study. Study of the relevant writings of Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong should be suitably unified in a strong effort to gain a deeper theoretical grasp of the 12th Party Congress documents. 5. Party committees on all levels must genuinely strengthen their leadership over study. It is necessary to proceed stage by stage in correctly organizing leadership of the study of the party members, cadres and masses in order to properly propagandize the masses. It is necessary to sincerely conduct a survey and sum up and exchange experiences.

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CSO: 4005/412

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

HEILONGJIANG TO BEGIN WINTER MILITARY CONSCRIPTION

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 24 Sep 82 p 1

[Article by staff reporter: "Our Province Will Soon Begin Military Conscription Work"]

[Text] At a recent meeting on military conscription work, the provincial people's government and provincial military district transmitted the order for winter 1982 conscription promulgated by the State Council and the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee.

In the rural areas this year, the draft of household labor power has been comparatively abundant, and discretion can be used in relaxing the educational-level requirements when recruiting youths with junior middle school education and above, youths in areas where minority nationalities are concentrated, and youths in remote areas where education is not developed. In cities and county seats, only students of senior middle school who are graduating this year are to be drafted; young staff and workers of organizations and of enterprise and business units, and students still studying in schools, are not to be drafted. The draft age for male youths is 18 or 19, and for students graduating from senior middle schools it is 17. Volunteers may be recruited. Youths to be recruited should sign up at their own locations. After they pass a physical examination and a political investigation and are approved by the county (prefectural) recruiting offices, procedures for their induction into the army are to be handled well. The recruitment period is October.

The meeting urged all areas to strengthen their leadership, do good propaganda work, strictly carry out the relevant policies and regulations, and strictly conduct the political investigations and physical examinations in order to insure that our province successfully completes its conscription work.

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CS0: 4005/302

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

HEILONGJIANG MILITARY DISTRICT MAPS STUDY OF CPC CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 Sep 82 p 1

[Article by Zhao Nailiang [6392 0035 5328]: "Conscientiously Putting Study of 12th Party Congress Documents in First Place"]

[Text] Recently the party committee of the provincial military district made the decision to urge the party committees at all levels in its subordinate units to strengthen their leadership, make unified plans and arrangements, and conscientiously put in first place in their work the study of the 12th party congress documents and the implementation of its spirit.

The decision pointed out that, based on the deployment and requirements of the party Central Committee's Propaganda Department and the PLA General Political Department, in arranging the study the provincial military district is to divide the units into two stages. The first stage, from September to yearend, will mainly be devoted to getting a good grip on the cadres' concentrated training and study. The provincial military district plans in the middle and last parts of October to hold an enlarged meeting of its party committee, at which there will be a systematic study, divided into five special topics, of the 12th party congress documents. Next, organizations at the regimental level or above are to organize cadres to go down in large numbers to lower units, divide up the work and assign a part to each individual or group, and, according to the outline for explaining and publicizing the documents, which was sent down uniformly from the Central Committee's Propaganda Department, do a good job of explaining and publicizing the documents to the units. The first half of next year will be the second stage of study. In this stage, education must be conducted on spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core and discipline and work style must be rectified, explaining in a focused manner three topics--having ideals, having morals, and being disciplined--so as to make the study of the spirit of the 12th party congress be continuous and deepgoing; a tighter handle must be got on the study of the theories of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, so as to deepen understanding of the spirit of the 12th party congress; and at the same time study of the new party constitution must be well organized, a good job must be done in reorganizing leading groups at all levels, and party members must receive rotational training in stages and batches.

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CSO: 4005/302

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

FUJIAN MILITIAMEN DISCUSS BUILDING OF 'SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION'

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 82 p 1

[Article by Pan Xiaomeng [3382 1321 3718]: "Strengthen Building of Spiritual Civilization, Promote Militia Work"]

[Text] The political department of the provincial military district recently called together some representatives of advanced units and advanced individuals in militia work to study and informally discuss the documents of the 12th party congress. Linking up with the reality of militia building in their own units, all of them discussed the question of "strengthening the building of socialist spiritual civilization with communist ideology as its core," and unanimously held that this question raised by the congress is to be grasped once and for all. This is an important matter relating to the rise or decline of the party and state.

Hong Fajin [3163 3099 6855], head of the People's Armed Forces Department of Hongshan Commune in the suburbs of Fuzhou, said: Because for a time we relaxed ideological and political work in the militia, there appeared among some militiamen the mistaken tendency to "look only for money" and they hag-gled over every bit of their economic remuneration, thus making it hard to develop the work. Later, the commune party committee and the people's armed forces department mobilized the militiamen to launch activities of socialist spiritual civilization with the "five stresses and four points of beauty" as their content, thereby raising the militiamen's ideological consciousness and improving their spiritual features. Since the beginning of last year, the tasks in militia work throughout the commune have been completed fairly well. The militiamen have vigorously participated in social and public welfare activities for which there is no remuneration, and have performed voluntary labor for dependents of army men and families of martyrs and for households enjoying the "five guarantees," so that a large number of new people and new deeds have emerged. During the struggle this year against floods, some militiamen were so devoted to public service as to forget their own interests. They vigorously rescued property belonging to the state and the masses, sacrificed themselves to save others, and rescued people among the masses who had fallen into water. Practice proves that socialist spiritual civilization is a powerful motive force in all work.

Many comrades think that, in building socialist spiritual civilization, the core of it--communist ideology--must be tightly grasped. Only by educating the militiamen to have staunch faith in communism will they have firm spiritual props and be able to consciously resist the corrosion of capitalist thought. Ou Fali [2962 3099 0448], militia battalion deputy commander of Dongsheng Production Brigade, said: In our production brigade there are fully equipped fishing boats. When smuggling was rampant, the brigade's party branch insisted on educating the militiamen and fishermen in socialism and patriotism, so that the great number of them came to firmly believe in the socialist system and in the correct orientation of becoming prosperous through labor. Thus, when smugglers tried to befriend and entice them, the militiamen and fishermen consciously were not envious of and did not covet ill-gotten wealth. They effectively resisted the smuggling activities, developed collective production, and promoted militia building.

When taking the floor, everybody also said that socialist spiritual civilization must be built well in a down-to-earth fashion, that one's own work must be done well, and that all work and all militia activities must be done with the communist attitude toward labor.

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CSO: 4005/302

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

EASIER ENTRY INTO PARTY URGED FOR INTELLECTUALS

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 29 Dec 82 p 3

[Article by Chou Gaohua [6650 0707 5478]: "Why is it Difficult for Intellectuals to Join the Party?"]

[Text] In his report made at the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang made the need for us to pay attention to absorbing those among the intellectuals who meet the necessary party entry conditions actually into the party as one of the problems which we must emphatically seek to solve; this is fully correct.

The vast ranks of our intellectuals have already become components of our working class. Like workers and peasants, they are the forces on which we rely in carrying out the construction of our socialist modernization. Without the intellectuals, we would have no one to rely on for the kind of scientific and technical forces and the kind of intellectual forces necessary for promoting the development of our production; without the intellectuals, it would be impossible to accomplish our task of quadrupling our national output and the building of our two civilizations would become empty words.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the spiritual outlook of our intellectuals, along with the gradual implementation of our party's policy toward the intellectuals, has undergone a tremendous change. They have been actively working on the various fronts and making great contributions. Many of them have expressed their hope to join the Communist Party in order to tie their lot with the party and devote the rest of their lives to the struggle for communism. This is a very pleasing matter.

But, on the question of developing the admission of intellectuals into our party some of our party cadres still harbor certain erroneous understandings. At their places, there are still many obstacles preventing the intellectuals from joining the party; some fine comrades have been stopped outside of the gate of the party on the pretext of all kinds of "reasons" for so long that, regrettably, they are not allowed to join while they are alive but have to be retroactively admitted only upon their death.

"Among the intellectuals those whose background is not quite good enough and those whose social relations are complex are rather numerous; we must be stricter about getting them to join the party." This is the old "reason" a part of our

comrades have. Actually, this "reason" can hardly stand. It is of course true that among the intellectuals, especially among the old and middle-aged ones, those whose family background are not quite good enough are more numerous and those whose social relations are complex are also rather numerous. This is a factual condition and it has resulted from our social history. A person's family background is not something of his own choice; nor can he determine himself what social relations he wishes to have. But, following which path and establishing which world view is something he can entirely choose and determine himself. Among the older generation of our revolutionaries, many have come from families of the exploitative classes and their social relations, too, had been complex. But, through revolutionary struggles for long periods of time, they have come to accept Marxism, consciously reform themselves, and ultimately become determined proletarian revolutionaries. If our predecessors could do this, why can't we people today do it likewise?

Today, our country has been liberated already for more than 30 years; it should be said that we are quite clear about the political and historical conditions of our intellectuals. With long-term education added, the political stand of an overwhelming majority of our old intellectuals has undergone a profound change, and their ideological consciousness has likewise become considerably elevated. In respect to the question of their admission into the party, we should handle them according to the party's established policy; that is to say, on family background, we look at how they themselves individually behave, and on social relations we look at their consequences; on history, we put emphasis on their actual performance. So long as they meet the conditions for admission, we should treat them just like those comrades who have come from a worker's or a peasant's background and thereby promote them to join the party in time and definitely not exclude them.

"The minds of the intellectuals are too complicated, we are not in a position to promote too many of them." This is another "reason" on the part of other comrades. Generally speaking, the period in which the intellectuals received their education is longer, they have heard a lot more and seen a lot more and pondered on problems a lot more; this is only natural. If this means "their minds are too complicated," then such "complicatedness" should be nothing ever so bad. Because the objective world itself is complicated, how can we help if a person's mind is not also complicated? When one encounters problems, one thinks a little more, thinks a little deeper, takes a look here and a glance there, asks a "why," then his judgment on things and his viewpoint on problems would be much more complete and much more accurate, and in his work he would be less liable to make fewer mistakes or make no mistakes at all. What is there to blame for this kind of "complicatedness"?

If by their "minds are complicated" we mean their selfish and mixed-up ideas are too numerous, their individualism is serious, then, this kind of "complicatedness" does not necessarily have anything to do with intellectuals. Selfish and mixed-up ideas and individualism are definitely not something that only the intellectuals have; workers, peasants, and other cadres also have that. Connecting intellectuals with "individualism" is entirely a prejudice. Of course, certain ones among the intellectuals still have various degrees of trouble in feeling apprehensive about gaining or losing something and in being individualistic; we should treat them as we do workers, peasants, and other cadres, warmly help them

overcome their defects, enable them to meet conditions for party entry as soon as possible, and not fold our arms and look on without bothering to listen to them or ask about them. That would constitute a manifestation of an irresponsible attitude toward our comrades and toward our party.

Some comrades possibly feel that the intellectuals think too much and make it hard for others to make head or tail of them. Actually, a person's words and deeds are a reflection of their thinking. In actual life, we need only to listen to his words and observe his deeds in order to understand a person. In the case of some middle-aged and old intellectuals, we have tested them 10 or 20 years and still feel that we cannot make head or tail of them or understand them; should this not cause us to ask ourselves as to whether we, in fact, lack a comradely feeling toward them and perhaps even dabble in some bureaucratic workstyle?

"Intellectuals are busy all day long about their business, they seldom participate in activities, seldom contact the masses, how can they join the party?" This is still another "reason." Among the intellectuals, a part is engaged in scientific research and technical professional work; because of the nature of their professions and the characteristics of their working environments, an overwhelming portion of their time is spent in laboratories and at their vocational outposts; this is quite necessary. Time is a constant; when their professions take up too much of their time, they naturally have much less time for other activities. The state has clearly prescribed: five-sixths of the time of intellectuals in the scientific and technical departments must be spent on their professional work; no one is allowed to encroach on that at random. Actually, intellectuals who concentrate their minds on delving into their professional work, on improving our scientific and technological level, and on striving for greater contributions are demonstrating precisely their political progressiveness; this is also something which our party promotes and encourages. If we confuse this with a lack of political progressiveness, that would be unfair.

Of course, insofar as the intellectuals applying for admission into the party are concerned, they should not only ask themselves to do a good job in their incumbent work but also ask themselves to seriously study Marxism, study the basic knowledge about the party and the party's line, principles and policies, and continue to improve their own ideological consciousness; they should also to the extent possible participate in some social activities and contact some masses. But, as party organizations and party cadres, we should seek truth from facts, watch the main current and watch the essence of the matter and not expect perfection. It would be wrong to have such fine intellectuals who are devoted to the party cause stopped outside the gates of the party just because they do not participate in social activities or contact the masses much.

In stressing the correct way of treating the question of party entry of intellectuals, we by no means wish to lower the standards for party membership; instead, we mean to ask our party organizations and party cadres at all levels to cast off the "Leftist" ideological influence on our treatment of the question about intellectuals and handle the matter indiscriminately according to the Party Constitution, so as to absorb into our party those intellectuals who meet the conditions sufficiently and thereby strengthen our party building and give full scope to our party's role in guiding the construction of our four modernizations.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

DISCUSSION OF INTELLECTUALS' ROLE IN FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jan 83 p 4

[Article: "Pay Attention to Developing the Role of Intellectuals in Building the Four Modernizations: Tianjin Mayor Li Ruihuan Says This is the Most Important Issue in Implementing the Policy on Intellectuals"]

[Text] Report filed by Hong Tianguo [3163 1131 0948]: The Chinese Communist Tianjin Municipal Party Committee recently convened a conference on work for intellectuals in which the Tianjin Mayor Li Ruihuan [2621 3843 3883] pointed out that in the implementation of the policy on intellectuals the most important aspect is to develop fully the role of intellectuals in building the four modernizations.

Li Ruihuan says that without question the issues of training, evaluation, awards, housing, children, spouses and work conditions are real problems which face the broad intellectuals and are problems which must be resolved one by one. The most serious problem is the full development of their role. Why is this the case? First of all, this is because intellectuals are the decisive factor in constructing the four modernizations. At one large plant in Tianjin, importance was first attached to the functions of scientific and technological intellectuals and the quality of that plant's products quickly became foremost in the nation. Later, they no longer listened to the views of scientific and technological personnel and product quality declined to 18th place in the nation. When importance was again attached to intellectuals, product quality rejoined the front ranks. Obviously, the degree to which importance is attached to intellectuals was decisive in quadrupling the rate of advance.

Li Ruihuan said that the broad intellectuals urgently desire to further develop their role. He cited research materials from several universities and research institutes which said that the majority of intellectuals believe that the most unsatisfactory aspect of real life for them is that they are unable to contribute all of their knowledge to the people. Only with the full development of the role of intellectuals will it be possible to

fundamentally transform how they are perceived and to transform their work and living conditions. Li Ruihuan said: knowledge is power and knowledge is wealth. There ought to be compensation for the transmission of knowledge and those intellectuals who make great contributions ought to be among the first in the city to benefit from it.

Li Ruihuan also expressed several other viewpoints on developing the role of intellectuals: resolutely smash the "unit ownership system" and let responsibilities lead the various disciplines in organizing the 170,000 intellectuals throughout the city; doing away with secure positions will permit compensation for the transmission of technology and contracts for specific technology; there should be strengthening and improvement in the management and application of ranks of scientists and technicians.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ARTICLE STRESSES VALUE OF KNOWLEDGE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by Zhong Peizhang [6988 3099 3864]: "Attaching Importance to Knowledge is Itself a Major Reform"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China pointed out with great foresight that there must be reforms in the entire process of carrying out construction of socialist modernization. In the same way that the good conditions existing today could not have come about without the restoration of order from chaos, unless we carry out a series of reforms in the future there will not be a victory in the process of modernization. Recently, the Central Committee of the Party forcefully pointed out that attaching importance to knowledge is itself a reform, and it can be said that of all reforms this is the key one, because without knowledge there can be no modernization.

Lenin once pointed out with great accuracy that a nation full of illiterates cannot build socialism. After the proletariat wins power one of its "epoch-making tasks" is to carry out cultural reforms and cultural revolution. Their content includes: universal and improved national education, both criticism and continuance of the cultural heritage, highly developed science, the prosperity of socialist literature and art and so on. What Lenin referred to as cultural reforms and cultural revolution are the same thing as building culture. The central idea is to attach importance to knowledge and improve the scientific and cultural level of all the people to turn "all the wonders of technology and all the results of culture into the property of all the people." ("Closing Remarks at the Third All-Russia Congress of the Soviets," n.d., n.p.) Lenin said, "If only we can realize this cultural revolution our country then can become a thoroughly socialist state." ("A Cooperative System" n.d., n.p.) China once tried the idea of a "cultural revolution" for a period of 10 years. However, the connotation was quite the opposite of Lenin's remarks and it became a "great political revolution in which one class overthrew another class." The result was not the attachment of importance to knowledge for the building of culture but rather was an ignorant disregard of knowledge and the destruction of

culture. Consequently, attaching importance to knowledge is first of all an ideological struggle to restore order from chaos. "We must thoroughly eliminate the completely mistaken idea of disregarding science, education and culture and being contemptuous of knowledge which has persisted for so long and which reached an extreme height during the 'Cultural Revolution' and we must improve the status and role of education, science and culture in building modernization, strive to clearly affirm that the intellectuals along with the workers and peasants are a reliable force in our socialist affairs, and realize that without culture and intellectuals there can be no construction of socialism." The 6th Plenum of the 11th Party Congress clearly pointed out that the task of restoring order from chaos still has not been completed. It appears that at least one more year of public opinion work is necessary to ensure that this Marxist-Leninist concept for all the people first becomes solidly planted in the consciousness of the broad cadres.

Carrying out reforms is not dependent on merely creating public opinion or talking about the reforms but rather requires their embodiment in the practice of socialist construction. The requirements for such a practice should be guaranteed in the arrangements of our financial outlay. In educational expenses, for example, during these last few years when the state finances have still experienced difficulties there nonetheless are yearly increases, and this is entirely correct. However, it must be pointed out that our current level of educational expenses, whether they are figured as a percentage of the national budget expenses or as a percentage of national income, generally are quite low in comparison with other countries of the world. In the case of the former, the present level for all countries of the world is about 15-20 percent while we are less than 10 percent. In the case of the latter, other countries are generally about 5-8 percent while we are at 2.7 percent. Everyone knows that a major reason why the Japanese economy was able to develop so rapidly was that ever since the Meiji Restoration the growth rate of "educational capital" always exceeded that of "material capital." This also was the case in other nations that developed rapidly. To a large extent, the present international economic competition is a competition in the training of human talent and the development of knowledge. The 11th Party Congress has already placed strategic importance on science and education. Arrangements should be made to embody this in our financial outlay. We are a developing socialist nation and our financial strength is still quite limited so that the total amount of our cultural and educational expenses cannot compete with those of the economically developed nations. Nonetheless, the superiority of our plan for socialist construction ought to ensure that an increased rate of capitalization in cultural and educational construction is given a primary position rather than the opposite. This should become a goal of our reforms.

Another major issue of the reforms is to place the scientific and technical personnel in their rightful positions. There also must be reforms in the cadre allocation system so that there are exchanges of human talent and so that scientific and technological personnel can reach the limits of their capabilities. Our scientific and technological forces are weak, but the present organization of our financial system creates departmental separation so that human and material forces are scattered and unable to unite. Much precious human talent is engaged in useless studies and because of poor organization is unable to get things done for long periods of time. This is a huge waste. It is just as Comrade Zhao Ziyang pointed out: "In our efforts to promote technological advances it is most important to properly organize the scientific and technological personnel to engage in formulating plans and in attacking barriers." It is quite obvious that to obtain this goal there must be a spirit of reform and determination to smash the old frameworks which obstruct our progress.

The Communist Party has always been an innovative party. All Communist Party personnel and cadres maintain political consistency with the Central Committee of the Party and enthusiastically and ardently wish to stand in the forefront of the innovators.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

DISCUSSION OF WORK ARRANGEMENTS FOR INTELLECTUALS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jan 83 p 3

[Article: "Senior Engineer Feng Shunluo Suggests Work Arrangements for Intellectuals"]

[Text] Comrade Feng Shunlou [7458 7311 2869], a Senior Engineer and seasoned expert of the Nanhai Aquatic Products Institute under the State Aquatic Products Bureau, recently made some suggestions regarding work arrangements for intellectuals.

Feng Shunlou believes that ever since the 3rd Plenum of the 11th Party Congress, the Party Central Committee has been extremely concerned about the intellectuals and has strongly carried out the policy on intellectuals. However, those who are carrying out the policy have never achieved thoroughgoing understanding and have not applied all their skills in consideration of this matter, and, instead, merely emphasize that "intellectuals should operate the factories," "intellectuals should run the schools" and "intellectuals should control the institutes." The term "experts" refers to people who are skilled in one field of learning, yet the factories, colleges, schools and institutes all are comprehensive units with many disciplines and many types of work. To use an expert from one field to run a unit of many academic disciplines can hardly be described as using "experts" with skill in all areas. "Management" is a profession and the experts in this profession ought to first have leadership skills and should also be aware of the particular human talent which is competent in performing professional tasks and which cadres have management skills, so that they can be sent in rotation for training, or so that the colleges and universities can establish such disciplines and train management talent according to a plan. It simply will not do to merely promote the "best of the lot" among the current group of scientific and technological experts.

How then can the seasoned experts be put to use? Comrade Feng Shunlou makes the following suggestions:

1. Those fully 65 years of age (or 70 at the most) should convert their official position to an honorary one, for example, honorary

college president, honorary institute director and so on. Otherwise, they could be appointed as advisors and continue to make plans for the unit, but not hold an official post.

2. All concurrent posts should be made honorary, such as honorary manager or honorary member of a standing committee. They would merely attend the major conferences but not perform any actual work.

3. When they are appointed to an honorary post there ought to be ceremonies with presentation of certificates so that they will be assured of receiving due respect in their honorary posts.

By doing things this way the seasoned experts can make arrangements for their lives and concentrate their energies on performing significant tasks, or they can give leadership to major scientific research projects, exercise their interest in completing advanced scientific work and in training future generations.

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ISSUES IN LIAONING'S PRIMARY, MIDDLE EDUCATION DISCUSSED

Beijing RENMIN JIAOYU [PEOPLE'S EDUCATION] in Chinese No 10, 25 Oct 82 pp 9-12

[Article by Zhang Zhiyuan [1728 4249 6678]: "Two Prominent Questions in Common Education Work"]

[Text] The Report of the party's 12th People's Congress points out that, based on the requirements of the general tasks for the party during the new historical period, if we want to vigorously promote the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization and within the next 20 years make education one of the strategic points of emphasis for building up the economy, it will be necessary to vigorously promote elementary education; step up middle-level, vocational education and higher education; develop the various levels and forms of education in both the city and the countryside, including cadre education, the education of workers and staff, the education of peasants, and the elimination of illiteracy; train all kinds of specialized talent; and improve the scientific and cultural level of all of the people. This is an immense encouragement to the broad masses of those involved in education work, and at the same time also presents arduous tasks for us. We must connect ourselves with the actual situation within the province, study conscientiously, and resolutely implement the spirit of the 12th People's Congress. From the point of view of the situation in our province, in the course of carrying out adjustment, reform, and reorganization on the popularization of education front, there are two prominent questions that especially must arouse our serious attention, and that we must also find every means possible to get a good hold on.

1. The question of popularizing primary education in the countryside.

This question was already proposed years ago. During the period of the 5-year plan Premier Zhou Enlai considered it one of China's major policies, and requested that it be implemented. Due to the havoc caused by the "gang of four," this noble ambition was not realized. The "Resolution Regarding Certain Questions in Popularizing Elementary Education," published in 1980 by the party Central Committee and the State Council, and the Sixth 5-year plan are already almost two years old now. If only we form the necessary determination, and adopt effective measures, then a basic realization of the

popularization of elementary education by the end of the 80's, i.e., by 1990, will not only be necessary but, moreover, will be possible.

People are aware of the connection between education and the four modernizations. If there are no talented people, then even if we have money and excellent facilities, we will not reach our objective of developing production and improving the people's lives. For this reason education has become the basis of the four modernizations. Primary education is also the foundation of secondary and higher education, and is the starting point for improving the scientific and cultural level of all of our people. It's quality has a deep and far-reaching influence on the whole enterprise of education and on the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization. This is not only true of the education of the intellect; moral and physical education are also indispensable. If a good job is done of building this fundamental stage of primary education, then middle and higher education will have a solid basis for advancement, and the quality of education as a whole will have a reliable guarantee.

Primary education is intimately connected with the vital interests of the broad masses, particularly the masses of peasants. Of the billion people in our country, 800 million are peasants. In the wake of the rapid improvement of the situation in rural areas, the living standard of peasants in poor areas has been improved, and peasants in more developed areas have begun to tread the path of prosperity. On the part of the masses of peasants there is a daily-more-pressing need for general education and for scientific techniques. The peasants not only hope that their own children will have more educational opportunities: they themselves also yearn to gain cultural and scientific knowledge, in order better to develop production, increase their incomes, and make a greater contribution to their country. Whether or not we are able within a comparatively short period of time first of all to do a good job of managing the schools urgently needed by the peasants, and enable the peasants' children to receive primary education universally, is a great matter affecting both the peasants' own vital interests and the rate of development of the national economy. Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out in the report of the 12th People's Congress that "Agriculture is the basis of China's national economy, and only if agriculture is making progress will everything else be easy to manage." From the point of view of this idea, popularizing primary education in rural areas is really one of China's most important policies. If we are not aware of this situation, and do not adopt appropriate measures, and in a down-to-earth, effective manner respond to the needs of this situation, the peasants will resent us, and will also impede the building of the four modernizations.

Such a great matter, affecting as it does our entire situation, should have aroused the serious attention of the entire party from the beginning. However, at present some comrades still do not place sufficient importance on such a great matter, and have not adopted effective measures to promote its realization. Some comrades look upon the popularization of primary education in rural areas as being too easy, thinking that it can be managed with little effort, and is not something that leaders will need to spend much

energy on. Some comrades focus their attention entirely on the question of the educational advancement of youth, and expend their energies in managing senior high schools, hoping to send all the more students on to university, and for this reason they place emphasis only on the senior high school, and ignore elementary schools. The new China has been established for 33 years now, and until now throughout the province popularized elementary education has not reached 28.9 percent of the counties. Even for counties where the proportion of children entering school has met the requirement, the consolidation [completion?] rate is still only about 86 percent, and as for those who finish five years of study and really achieve the required standard, the proportion is far less than this. If a good job of the work of popularization is not done at this elementary-school stage, it will have a negative effect on junior and senior middle school studies, and even on university studies. Each educational level would impede the progress of the level following it, becoming an educational vicious circle. It must be said that now we have already reached the time when it will no longer do not to get a firm and vigorous hold on the popularization of primary education. If we procrastinate for ten more years, it will have a negative effect on the building of socialist material and spiritual civilization, and we will be without the means to turn over things to the new generation.

In order to conscientiously, unyielding, and in a down-to-earth manner get a good hold on the great matter of the popularization of elementary education, we feel that, starting from now, we must do a good job of the following things:

It is necessary to consider the popularization of primary education as the focal point in the enterprise of education as a whole. On the basis of presently-existing human, material, and financial resources, we should relatively concentrate their use in the enterprise of primary education in rural areas, and make the position and effect of primary education more prominent in education work as a whole. With this end in mind, we hope that the state will pass legislation for the popularization of elementary school education in both city and countryside, particularly in rural areas, and through these laws guarantee the completion of the task of the popularization of primary education in our country at the present stage. The training of talented people is a long-term process of education and training from the lower levels to the higher. Lower middle school, higher middle school and other forms of education are doubtless important and, moreover, we must still do a good job of managing them; however, we must take as a principle the idea that all this should not have a negative effect upon our fulfilling the task of popularizing primary education. If we really begin our taking charge of things at this most fundamental level of the elementary school, and gradually improve things level by level, it will form a good cycle, and enable the entire enterprise of education to have a strong development.

As for popularizing primary education in the countryside, it will not do to shorten the time too much, and one must be prepared to spend a comparatively long period of time to take it in hand. Regarding the work of popularization, we cannot only look at the rate at which pupils begin school; what is important is, we must look at the consolidation rate and the rate at which

pupils actually achieve the required standard, and we must look upon this latter rate as the final aim of popularization. Of course, for this rate of achieving the standard, one can stipulate a number of standards that are consistent with reality. Due to the extreme divergency among the various places in our country with regard to their economic and cultural situation, it is obviously not feasible to have only one standard, but through whatever means possible the pupils must be brought up to standard; where this cannot be accomplished in a short time, it can be made possible through a certain number of years of hard work.

From the point of view of conditions at present, the equalization of the "three rates" of entering school, consolidation, and achieving the required standard, particularly with respect to the latter, cannot be fully accomplished within a short period of time. It requires time, hard work, and years of unremitting effort. Therefore, to look upon the popularization of primary education as being too difficult, and to flinch before the magnitude of the task, is certainly not correct. However, if we look upon it as being too easy, and think that it can be quickly realized without arduous and painstaking work, and without expending arduous labor, it will also not be realized. In work, thinking that something is a bit easier than it actually is is not as good as thinking that it is harder; and when it comes to time, thinking short is not as good as thinking long, in order to give our spirits sufficient time to prepare. This way of considering questions is comparatively good for the work of popularizing primary education. But long times still must have a limit, and if the Central Committee requires us to attain this goal by 1990, then a clear task has been pointed out for us--in eight years of arduous struggle we must really do a good job of this business.

If we really want to accomplish the popularization of primary education in rural areas, we must solve a whole series of practical problems. On the basis of many years of experience and the presently-existing conditions we consider that the popularization of primary education has three points of difficulty: The first is the question of teachers. During the ten years of turmoil a large number of teachers in elementary schools run by the state were selected to be transferred to middle schools, and in the same period there arose a large number of teachers at schools run by the local people. The basic situation of the ranks of elementary school teachers at present is that though they are many, their professional level is not high, and if we do not carry out a reorganization of their ranks we will be without a good basis for training and improving others. On the other hand elementary school teachers' position in society is low, and their pay is low, while they have a great deal of work and a heavy burden to bear. If we want to mobilize the enthusiasm of the broad masses of elementary school teachers for realizing the popularization of primary education, then it will be necessary, in work and in policy, to come up with the appropriate stipulations to improve their position in society and their remuneration. The second is the question of expenses. During the period of the ten years of turmoil, middle schools were developed to an excessive degree, and educational expenses were scattered. Elementary schools in rural areas, aside from payroll expenses,

had almost no other administrative expenses, and they did not even have to pay the carfare for teachers to participate in individual briefings. In managing things, the thing to guard against is having a very good theoretical line and yet not being able to solve practical problems, so that some good matter comes to nothing in the end. The third is the problem of the conditions for managing the school. From the point of view of the situation in our province, up to the present there are still 600 thousand square feet of unsafe dormitories, and a lack of 900 thousand desk/chair sets; books and equipment are also pitifully lacking. How can this kind of conditions for running schools enable us to improve the all-around quality of education? Of course, in solving these problems we cannot rely completely on the state; we need only be reasonable, and the peasants will be pleased to take on the burden; moreover, for many years they really have borne the expenses of making the needed repairs and providing the needed desks and chairs. In this matter it would be best to have some stipulations based on guiding principles, the better to be followed uniformly in the various areas.

These three points of difficulty are problems that must be solved within the scope of the entire country; as for problems in other areas relating to the work of popularizing primary education, these should be solved at the local level.

In short, first of all we should get a good hold on the matter of popularizing primary education. And taking this in hand for a start, we should set aright education work as a whole. By getting a good hold on this link in the long chain of education, we will be able to improve and revitalize education as a whole, and bring about an extremely rapid change in certain presently-existing passive aspects in education.

2. The question of reforming the organizational structures of middle education.

The problem in elementary education is one of doing a good job of the popularization of education according to very strict standards. The problem of middle-level education is one of doing a good job of reforming it in accordance with the demands of changes in the economy and society. This of course is not to say that an increase in the number of middle-level schools is not important, but comparatively speaking the need for reform is more prominent.

In the "Resolution Regarding Certain Historical Questions in the Party Since the Founding of the State" it is pointed out that we must "use the Marxist world view and Communist morality to educate the people and youth, and persevere in a guiding educational policy of the overall, comprehensive development of moral, intellectual, and physical education; being both red and expert; combining intellectuals with the workers and peasants; and combining intellectual labor with physical labor." This guiding policy, seen from the angle of training objectives, can be understood in two different aspects. First, the students we train must love labor and love laboring people. It cannot be imagined that students trained in our

socialist schools would not love labor or not love laboring people. It is necessary for us to look upon instilling in our students as an integral part of moral education a concept of labor and a concept of the masses. Second, the people we train must be capable of labor, must be capable of both mental and physical labor; that is, they must have considerable work ability, particularly the ability to do physical work. Training in this ability must be an integral part of our intellectual education.

The problem is very clear: if a reform of middle-level education is not carried out, not only will we not be able to implement the guiding educational policy stipulated in the "Resolution" but, moreover, it will create difficulties for the enterprise of building socialist modernization. As for our middle-level education at present, the quality of the majority of schools is not high, and is not up to the required standard. Our students are criticized in society for "having diplomas, but no qualifications." Even where an acceptable quality of intellectual knowledge has been reached, the students have not acquired any work ability. The great majority of middle-school graduates proceed directly to a job rather than continue with their studies, but after they arrive at their work posts they have to learn everything from the beginning. This is a kind of waste and, moreover, adds a considerable burden to the work units. Heads of families, and the students themselves, are also not pleased with this system. Therefore, it will no longer do for middle-level education not to undergo a conscientious and down-to-earth reform.

The reform of middle-level education must have as its guiding ideology the principle of the combination of education with productive labor. Using this thinking to guide the work of ordinary middle schools and vocational middle schools, we will realize our double objective of educating people ideologically while training them in technical skills, and change the present method of training students only to progress with their studies.

To reform middle-level education, we must not only set up a system of vocational education, but must also at the same time increase the number of vocational programs in ordinary middle schools, with the latter problem being more important at present. Because vocational schools have only just begun, their relative importance in the stage of senior-middle-level education as a whole is very small. It is not enough merely to think that once we have vocational schools we will be able to solve the contradiction between training students to continue with their studies and training them for a vocation. In actuality, a very large number of upper middle schools are still in a situation of being divorced from productive labor. Even if vocational middle schools are greatly developed, and come to occupy a greater proportion of middle schools, a guiding policy of combining education with productive labor must still be implemented in ordinary middle schools, to enable middle school graduates to meet the needs of taking up their jobs. Thus, one can consider that when students go on to university, by having undergone work training, they will have been prepared both ideologically and with respect to their professions. In the course of reform, merely overcoming the problem of too much uniformity in the organizational structures is not enough; we must also overcome the problem

of too much uniformity in the middle schools' programs. The former is a matter of the schools' organizational structures, and the latter is a matter of the programs' structure, but fundamentally both are referring to the structure of knowledge. A reform of the first kind of structure must definitely be supplemented by a reform in the latter kind of structure. In a very real sense, the quantity of work require, and the difficulty, of the latter kind of reform is a bit greater.

Vocational schools, aside from the already-existing specialized middle schools and technical schools, are still a new form of education. Over the coming period we must vigorously engage in setting up such schools, and actively develop them. Whether or not we are able to expend about ten years of intense effort will determine whether we can enable such schools to become yet another educational system for our country. However, in vocational education as in ordinary education, there is not only a question of quantity, but also one of quality. Without having the proper conditions--teachers engaging in vocational education, teaching materials, and the necessary base area for field work--the quality of vocational education cannot be guaranteed. If the quality is not good, then people will not be trained to be up to standard, and this will have a negative effect on the reputation of vocational education, creating yet another kind of waste; of course the provision of material conditions must also proceed according to a process. Therefore, developing vocational education also must proceed according to a plan and a procedure, and at all costs we must avoid being roused to precipitate action only to disperse again in a hubbub. Of course, every matter proceeds from simple to more advanced stages, from imperfect to finished; and in the course of practice gradually improves. Vocational education is also something that cannot be accomplished in a single step, but even less so is it something that cannot be developed until all the necessary preparations have been made. However, vocational education is determined to a very great extent by the objective needs of society for a labor force. The labor force that may be scarce today in a given profession may tomorrow be in large supply. Without a basic estimate and forecast of the need for a given labor force, vocational education would proceed blindly and, hence, create passivity. This, then, would increase the difficulty of vocational education work. We hope that in our setting up of vocational education, in our guiding ideology we will stress the combination of quality with quantity from the very beginning, so that our practical work can gradually develop on a comparatively firm basis.

For realizing the reform of middle-level education, teacher-training education occupies a decisive position. Whether in vocational education that is being initiated or in increasing the number of vocational programs in ordinary middle schools, the first problem to be met with is that of supplying the needed teachers. Without specialized professional teachers, how can you have a specialized/professional program? And how train specialized professional talent? But our present higher-level normal schools are training teachers to teach basic cultural knowledge in ordinary middle schools. In order to meet the new situation of the need for reform in middle-level education, teacher-training education also must be reformed. Proceeding from the objective need for reforming the organizational

structures of middle-level education, we must set up more technical teacher-training institutions or set up more specialized departments in vocational education. Otherwise, teacher-training education will impede the reform of middle-level education. At present it is necessary to be clearly aware of this point. Before teacher-training education is completely planned out and reformed, specialized professional institutions in science, engineering, agriculture, forestry, and medicine will definitely send on a considerable number of graduates each year to teach in the ordinary and vocational middle schools, gradually reforming the makeup of the teachers. Without the guarantee of these measures of reforming the middle schools and assigning their graduates to the various schools, reform would have no way of being implemented.

At present the situation throughout the entire country is very good. The situation on the educational front is also very good. The party's 12th Congress further pointed out to us our great strategic task of building a high level of socialist material and spiritual civilization. Education occupies a prominent and important place in the work of building the "two civilizations." If only we conduct our affairs conscientiously in accordance with the party Central Committee's line, programs, and policies, and in a down-to-earth manner get a good hold on the popularization of elementary education and the reform of middle-level education, then our education work will definitely make a greater contribution towards the building of the four modernizations.

(The author of this article is Deputy Governor of Liaoning Province.)

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AUTHOR PROPOSES APPLYING HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE TO 'YENAN TALKS'

Changchun SHEHUI KEXUE ZHANXIAN [SOCIAL SCIENCE FRONT] in Chinese No 4, 25 Oct 82 pp 238-253

[Article by Wang Yao [3769 3852]: "Judging the Historical Significance of the 'Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art' From the Viewpoint of Modern Literary Development"]

[Text] It is already 40 years since Comrade Mao Zedong gave his "Talks at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art." These talks were a Marxist literary document of major historical significance and have had an enormous influence on the development of modern literature, as everyone knows. However, we must not only look at how the talks gave direction to the literary development as from the later years of the anti-Japanese war, a literature that was mainly characterized by describing "the new men and the new world," but must give even greater attention to the fact that emergence of the talks and the many theses in them are a summation and comprehensive overview of the basic experiences in the development of modern literature since the May Fourth Movement. In the same way as Mao Zedong Thought is the development and application of Marxism-Leninism in China and a crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Chinese communist party, the Mao Zedong literature and art ideology is a major organic part of Mao Zedong Thought and as such also a product of collective wisdom. Since the May Fourth Movement, Marxist writers and artists within and outside the party, represented by Lu Xun [7627 6598], have all made certain contributions to the formation and development of this literary and art ideology. Comrade Mao Zedong emphasized in his "Talks" the Marxist principle of "seeking truth from facts" and pointed out that a basic fact which served as starting point for his "Talks" was "the revolutionary movement in literature and art since the May Fourth Movement--its great contributions to the revolution during the last 23 years and its many shortcomings." This clearly explains that the "Talks" were a scientific summing up and concentrated recapitulation of the practical experiences in the revolutionary literary and art movement since the May Fourth Movement. We can therefore only understand the great historical significance of the "Talks," scientifically, by placing them into the historical development of the revolutionary literature and art. We must link them with the whole revolutionary literature and art movement and examine them in the light of the ideological trend in literature and art. Certain limitations and shortcomings that we find in them can therefore

also only be scientifically acknowledged and explained from the historical conditions under which the "Talks" were created and formulated.

In line with the fundamental spirit of the "Talks," I intend in the following to discuss my own interpretations and understanding under five aspects.

1. On the Relationship Between Literature and Art and the People

People customarily refer to the modern Chinese literature that started with the May Fourth Movement as "new literature," where the fundamental characteristic of the so-called "newness" is its demand for links with the masses of the people. The literary revolution of the May Fourth Movement started with the proposal to use the vernacular language, but its significance is not at all limited to the innovation of the literary form or of the tools of expression, but rather in the reflection of the efforts to have literature that will be accepted by the broadest masses of the people and the historical demand for a relationship between literature and the people. What is the main spiritual essence of the literary revolution? To express it in one short sentence, it is the demand for the evolution of a literature that uses the language of modern man to express the ideas of modern man. The language of modern man is the vernacular and the ideas of modern man are democracy and science. The emergence of this demand has of course its deep social reasons, it is linked with the great turning point in the Chinese democratic revolutionary history, and it is at the same time a reflection of the Chinese people's demand in the field of literature. The new literature is therefore fundamentally different from the "old literature," which had mainly grown up in the feudal society, in that it demanded right from the start that it must have a link to the masses of the people. As to advocating the use of the vernacular, judging from the views of the pioneers at the time of the May Fourth Movement, there were mainly two reasons for their persistence in proposing that "the vernacular be the orthodox line in literature" (Chen Duxiu [7115 3747 4423] on language): First, as a literary language that can most perfectly express advanced ideas, the vernacular is the most competent medium and with the greatest expressivity. Secondly, the vernacular can be read and understood by the common people and therefore lends itself better for wider dissemination. In fact the second reason is the more important one, because "citizen's literature and "common people's literature" were the slogans that agitated everyone at that time. Although the so-called "citizens" and "common people" were "in actual fact still only limited to the urban petty bourgeoisie and bourgeois intellectuals," due to the fact that "at that time it was still not yet possible to disseminate literature among the masses of workers and peasants" ("On New Democracy"), the mentioned slogans at least voiced the demand of the literary revolution for "popularization," and manifested the urgent demand for an enlightenment movement within the democratic revolution. The ideological struggle that opened up at that time, touched on this point with great fierceness. Lin Shu [2651 4782] opposed literature in the vernacular because it would be the "language of rickshaw boys and peddlers." Others said "the vernacular is vulgar and boorish, not be deigned worth even a smile by educated people." Lu Xun replied in one of his "Random Sentiments" in the XIN QING NIAN [NEW YOUTH]: "The Chinese illiterates know only

to speak in 'vulgar and boorish' language, no need to mention that.... To say that the noises coming out of the mouths of 400 million Chinese are altogether 'not to be deigned worth even a smile' is absolutely pitiful." ("Hot Wind": "The Butchers of Today") These facts reveal that the promotion of literature in the vernacular as a major point in the literary revolution of the May Fourth Movement was not at all to emphasize the form of writing only, but had as its purpose gaining a wider circle of readers of literary works and to play an effective role in teaching and educating the people; it was to "popularize" and to spur on the development of the people's revolution. It was actually a question of how to have literature serve the people more effectively. At that time the question was of course not yet so clearly and definitely presented, but it was certainly encountered in actual fact.

It was of course a matter determined by the character and tasks of the new democratic revolution. By designating the concepts "of the masses" and "of the nation, scientifically" all as main traits of the new-democratic culture, Comrade Mao Zedong precisely summarized in a scientific way how the literature of the new era that started with the literary revolution of the May Fourth Movement differed from the past literature of all former historical periods. Only by fully affirming the historical achievement in "opening writing in the literary language, advocating writing in the vernacular; opposing the old dogmas and advocating science and democracy" of the May Fourth Movement, did he acknowledge "that at that time, this movement was vivid and vigorous, a progressive and revolutionary movement." ("Opposing Stereotype Writing") We may say that pursuing and exploring the question how to have literature better and more effectively serve the people has been a thread of development that runs through modern Chinese literary history since the May Fourth Movement.

At the time of the old-type democratic revolution in China, in an effort to adapt to the needs of the democratic revolution led by the bourgeoisie, there had already been quite a few movements at the end of the Qing dynasty to popularize culture for the "enlightenment of the people." The famous article by Liang Qichao [2733 0796 6389] "On the Relationship Between the Novem and Mass Rule" advocates "new novels" from the "mass rule" angle. Moreover, the condemnation by the proponents of the vernacular language of the current novels, the call for a "revolution in poetry circles," the fashion of writing essays in the "new popular style," the importation of the form of spoken stage plays, are all just such expressions of the demand for enlightenment during the democratic revolution. During the revolution, that was still led by the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie always claimed to be representing the whole people when it tried to lead the masses in fighting the feudal rule, but not only were these literary reform movements, generally speaking, rather ineffective, but very soon all gave out altogether. Moreover, even though they could go after the problem at that time from a commanding position, all the various links with the traditional feudal ideology, that they had, and found difficult to cut, made it impossible to demand that literature be made to serve the people. Although there were also progressive personages who sympathized with the pitiful conditions of the masses and keenly felt the importance of the degree of awareness of the masses for the

revolutionary undertaking, and the need to raise the awareness through literature and art, thence to explore the road to improving their position, the men of those days, under the historical conditions of the time, hardly did anything in that respect. Precisely as Lu Xun described it in his preface to "Crying Out," at that time "it was as if placed in a boundless wilderness with no possibility to take any action." As a result there would only be a feeling of "desolation." Only by the time of the May Fourth Movement, under the new historical conditions, the problem of linking literature and art with the people was truly put on the agenda of history. It was then that Chen Duxiu "raised high the great flag of the 'army of literary revolution'" in his article "On Literary Revolution," "inscribing on the flag with large letters the three great proposals of our revolutionary army," namely first, "down with the ornate and fawning literature of the nobility, create a plain and emotionally expressive 'national literature'." Lu Xun later made the statement that "literature and art are the radiant fire of the people's spirit and at the same time the light that guides the spirit of the people in their advance." ("The Grave," "On Seeing With Open Eyes"), strongly emphasizing that literature must express "the national spirit" and spell out "the modern soul of our people" ("Uncollected Works," "Preface to the Russian Edition of 'Ah Q' and Author's Abridged Autobiography"), and in reverse it must influence the soul of our people and promote the people's and the nation's political awareness, the focus of attention still being the close link that should exist between literature and the people. As the movement developed, the concept of "national literature" became more and more clarified and definite. The proposal to "give attention to social problems, sympathize with 'the disadvantaged and the humiliated'" (Mao Dun [5403 4163]: "Naturalism and the Modern Chinese Novel"), the reaction among writers to the slogan "to go among the people," the promotion of "culture of the masses," all this reflects the demand that literature must become integrated with the broad masses of the oppressed people. In literary creations the peasants for the first time became the leading characters in literary writings. "Depicting the misfortunes of the lower strata of the people" became a major topic of new literature. This all demonstrates a special historically significant point in the developments during the period of the new democratic revolution. We therefore say that the new literary movement of the May Fourth Movement, right from the start, put forward the question of striving for a correct relationship between literature and the masses of the people as a basic question of the new literature, and we may also say that this question became a glorious tradition.

However, the question of the relationship between literature and art and the people could not yet find a clear and definite solution at the time of the May Fourth Movement, either in its theoretical conception or in the practice of creation, and an important question like this, furthermore, cannot be lightly solved. Ideas expressed at that time, such as that literature must under no circumstances be "lowered to the level of the masses of the people" and "must always have the majority follow the lead of a minority" etc. show clearly that a true solution of the question of linking literature and art with the masses was still very remote. After the 30 May [1925] movement, in which the proletariat played the substantial leading role, there was a beginning of a tendency in literature and art as expressed in the slogan "a

literature of socialist realism that sympathizes with the proletariat." (Guo Moruo [6753 3106 5387] "Revolution and Literature") Toward the end of the twenties, theorists of the Sun Society and the Creation Society, who were advocating a literary movement of proletarian revolutionary character, set forth even more distinctly that they wanted "the broad masses of workers and peasants" to be the main target audience to be served by literature and also to be the main characters portrayed in literature. (Cheng Fangwu [2052 0119 0710]: "From Literary Revolution to Revolutionary Literature") After the formation of the League of Left-Wing Writers there was an even more explicit call for popularization to be the core of the proletarian literary movement, in realization of the unsolved problem and in an effort to solve the problem. In his article "The Problem of Mass Literature and Art," Qu Qiubai [4234 4428 4101] said: "The masses of the common people cannot understand the creations of the so-called new literature, just as they couldnot understand the poetry, old-style writing and "ci" style poetry of the past. There is still no common language between the new-style gentry and the common people. Since this is so, it does not matter how beautifully written the revolutionary literature is, as long as these writings are written in the language of the gentry, they are of no concern to the masses of the common people." If we want to link up the new literature and art with the masses of the people, the questions of language and form are of course important and are bound to be met with in actual practice. However- what is more important is the integration of the writers with the masses and solving the problem of the distance that separates one's self from the target that one wants to describe and the target that is to be served. In those days, the League of Left-Wing Writers worked hard to give literature a mass character. The League, for instance, proposed to use the language of the masses, to use simplified forms of characters in common use, to organize worker and peasant news reporters and advocated reportorial literature, etc., which all had a certain success. Looking back at it now, even though the left-wing literary movement had certain points that were not completely appropriate in its theories and in concrete measures concerning the question of popularization of literature and art, for instance, its excessively low estimation of all post-May Fourth Movement literature, certain theories on the class character of language, etc., it was altogether correct in making popularization the core of the left-wing revolutionary literary movement. It was clearly pointed out at that time that the solution of the problem of popularization is "indeed the indispensable way to accomplish all our new tasks," and in actual fact it was made clear that this is the key problem, decisive for the direction of modern literary developments, because, as regards the special features and the social role of revolutionary literature and art and as regards the relationship between the objects it depicts and the targets it serves, the question of integrating literature and art with the masses is a fundamental question. WE may say the exploration of this question at the time of the League of Left-Wing Writers, or, let us say, the degree of integration of literature with the people at that time did show great progress compared with the time of the May Fourth Movement. In his article "My View on the League of Left-Wing Writers," lu Xun pointed out that the literary "united front" must have "a common aim with the masses of workers and peasants as its prerequisite," and must under no circumstances work "for only small groups" or "for only the individual self." He poses here clearly the question of literature "for whom," which is a

great progress on the question; and regarding the question of the relationship of literature and the people, a question that had been pursued ever since the May Fourth Movement. This view expressed by Lu Xun was later directly quoted by Comrade Mao Zedong and furthermore summarized in the "talks" in the idea that "literature must serve the masses of the people, of which the main body are the workers, peasants and soldiers."

After the outbreak of the war of resistance against Japan, while the slogans "writing must move into the countryside" and "writing must move into the army" became current, and the demand of the time was to mobilize the people to persevere in the war of resistance, this problem became even more prominent and acute. Many writers had by then also gained some practical experience in the creation of popular literature and art, and the discussions launched at that time on such problems as "pouting new wine into old bottles" and on the creations in national form indicate a further development of the popularization question from the time of the League of Left-Wing Writers under the new historical conditions. The one problem that the writers and artists had to solve was: how to have literature and art serve the people better and more effectively. Apart from emphasizing the continuation and development of national forms and the popularization of the language, their discussions also emphasized the need for writers to "plunge right into the masses, experience in person the life of the masses, observe and learn the desires of the masses, extoll the mission of the masses." (Guo Morou, "Discussion of 'National Form'") Here, the questions of relating literature and art to the people and of the relationship between authors and the people were combined for a joint investigation, which explains that a further deepening of cognition of this problem was in progress.

Lu Xun's opinion expressed in his article "Popularization of Literature and Art" merits our attention. Although he actively supported and participated in theoretical explorations and in actual creations of popular literature and art, he nevertheless soberly realized that achievement of the "total popularization of literature and art," that is, the thorough integration of writers and artists with the masses of the people and of literature and art with the masses "must have the help of political forces." That means, at a stage when the proletariat is not yet in control of the political power, the writers and artists are in a state of separation from the people and incapable of penetrating deeply into "the center of the revolutionary vortex," ("Reply to the Society for International Literature") and the integration of writers and artists with the people is bound to be very restricted, ideologically and in matters of daily life. It is not only the duty of the revolutionary writers and artists to immerse themselves deeply into the life of the masses, but also a right they must enjoy. However, suffering persecution under reactionary rule, the writers and artists could not enjoy this freedom and this right. On the other hand, the masses of the people in their state of suffering oppression before gaining political and economic liberation and incapable of changing their backward condition by themselves, were of course also very limited in their ability to take a share in literature and art and to appreciate it. In short, the fundamental theoretical and practical solution of the question of the relationship between literature and art and the people must have the "help" of the people's own "political force," but in Lu Xun's times the historical

conditions had obviously not yet sufficiently matured, and the solution had to await "the time when the masses of the people would assume power." ("The Talks")

The historical contribution of Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" was established in the new historical period when the masses of the people had gained their own base areas and liberated areas and had begun to free themselves politically, economically and culturally, by distinctly proclaiming the fundamental direction of "literature and art is to serve the people whose main component are the workers, peasants and soldiers," by advancing the ideas that writers and artists "must integrate themselves with the new era of mass character," "must thoroughly solve the problem of the relationship between the individual and the masses," and "must be loyal spokesmen of the masses." The core problem in the development of modern literature was thereby basically solved, namely the problem of the relationship between literature and art and the people. The broad masses of revolutionary writers and artists thereby not only became clearly aware of the importance of the problem of relating literature and art to the masses, but also found a way for their concrete practice and thus ushered in a new historical phase in the history of modern literature. Basing on a summary of modern literary development since the May Fourth Movement, Comrade Mao Zedong saw its positive contributions as well as its shortcomings and subjected it to a penetrating Marxist analysis. On the question of "popularization" he gave the following statement, clear, definitive and to the point: "Many comrades like to talk about 'popularization,' but what is popularization? It is having the thinking and sentiments of the workers in literature and art become identical with the thinking and sentiments of the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers." He expressed this even more vividly and concretely in his "Oppose Stereotyped Writing" as follows: "So whoever talks glibly about 'transforming to a mass style' while in fact he is stuck fast in his own small circle had better watch out, or some day one of the masses may bump into him along the road and say, 'What about all this 'transformation', sir? Can I see a bit of it, please?' and he will be in a fix. If he is not just prating but sincerely wants to transform to a mass style, he must really go among the common people and learn from them, otherwise his 'transformation' will remain up in the air." What makes the works of literature and art welcome among the masses of the people? (This is the prerequisite for the social effectiveness that literature and art can and should achieve) First of all the ideas and sentiments expressed in such works must be such as to arouse the love and hate, emotions, understanding and sympathetic response among the masses, and next, their language and style must be such that the masses love to see and hear, where the former of course is the more fundamental requirement. Comrade Mao Zedong's explanation of "transformation to mass character" is not only a theoretical summary and development of the question of relationship between literature and art and the people since the May Fourth Movement, but also an elucidation of the objective law of revolutionary literary and art creation, because in the individual writer and artist the important element is not only his rational knowledge, but, more importantly, his perception of and attitude toward the realities of life. Precisely as Lu Xun expressed it, the difference between writers and artists who are fellow travellers and those who are pro-

letarian revolutionaries is basically that "the former may write on revolution and construction but will always give the impression of being bystanders, while the latter, as soon as they put pen to paper, will show definitely that they are in it themselves and that things are absolutely their own affairs." ("Preface to 'A Day's Work'") As soon as writers and artists will have achieved the key link of "identifying with the masses in thoughts and sentiments," they will have basically solved the problem of the relationship between literature and art and the people, and will have created the necessary conditions and safeguards to ensure that literature and art will serve the people. This is confirmed by the many excellent works created after the publication of the "Talks."

At the beginning when the May Fourth Movement advocated the use of the vernacular language, the focus of all efforts and explorations concerning the popularization of literature and art was on language and form of literature and more or less neglected the question of having the writers and artists integrate themselves with the masses. Of course language and form are of quite some importance for the popularization--Comrade Mao Zedong has made some statements on the question of national form and language--but even the question of language and form depends for its effective solution on immersing oneself deeply in the life of the masses of the people. In his article "Oppose Stereotype Writing," Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The people's vocabulary is rich, vigorous, vivid and expressive of real life." However, if this rich and vigorous language lacks ample knowledge, it will make the literary and art worker look like "a hero with no way to display his prowess." In short, these problems can only gradually find their satisfactory solution in the course of the writers' and artists' deep penetration of life.

Comrade Mao Zedong gave some clear and definite elucidations in his "Talks" on the theoretical question of the relationship between literature and art and the people, a relationship which the revolutionary literary movement since the May Fourth Movement so arduously explored and attempted to solve. To this day we must uphold these elucidations as scientific principles; they are not only of major historical significance, but play a role as our guide into the far distant future. It is for this reason that Comrade Deng Xiaoping [6772 1420 1627] said in his congratulatory speech at the Fourth Congress of Literary and Art Workers: "The people are the mother of literature and art. The artistic life of all progressive literary and art workers depends on their flesh-and-blood ties with the people."

2. The Tradition of Revolutionary Realism in the New Literature

As to the mainstream of literary and art outlook and creative methods in China's modern literature that began with the May Fourth Movement, it created a tradition of revolutionary realism, that was established by Lu Xun and developed into a socialist tendency. This precious tradition was disrupted during the 10 years of calamity when the core of criticism by the "gang of four" of the so-called "sinister eight theories" was criticism of realism that was to serve engineering their own conspiracy. In our work of restoring order out of chaos, we therefore first of all proclaimed a restoration of the tradition of revolutionary realism. The fundamental essence of this tradition is that literature and art must reflect the real life and

must emphasize truthfulness in art. That exactly was the point from which the literary revolution of the May Fourth Movement started out when it opposed imitations and advocated originality. In his article "On the Literary Revolution" Chen Duxiu clearly made "overthrowing the outworn and ostentatious classical literature and building up a fresh and honest realistic literature" one of the three great propositions of his "literary revolution." As the pioneers at the time of the May Fourth Movement saw it, the basic drawbacks of "classical literature," that is, of the traditional literature of the feudal society, in its creative methods were first of all the "painstaking imitation of ancient patterns" and the "moaning and groaning without being ill," i.e. an absolute separation from the realities of life. Right at its start, the literary revolution of the May Fourth Movement declared "the fallacies of the Tongcheng school of literature" and the "evildoers of ancient anthology studies" as targets of the revolution, which was not so much focussing attention on the eight masters of prose writing in the Tang and Song dynasties or Xiao Tong's "Anthology of Literature," but rather directed from the realities of life and saw imitation of the ancients as the highest accomplishment. The pioneers of the new literature regarded the antiquated writings as "loaded with fancy phrases, devoid of emotions and realism." This is precisely what Comrade Mao Zedong criticized in his "Talks" as "the most sterile and harmful dogmatism in literature and art." Speaking of the creative methods, it was an antirealist tendency of covering up contradictions and presenting a false picture of life. Lu Xun therefore generalized that old literature was "a literature of swindle and deception" and demanded that the new literature must show an attitude of "squarely facing the phenomena of life, or at least of society." This, in actual fact, is displaying the major feature of revolutionary realism. He believed a writer or artist must "unmask the reality and truthfully, penetratingly and courageously look at the flesh and blood of society and describe it." ("The Grave," "On Looking With Open Eyes") This proposal to integrate subjective and objective truths, we may say, is the cherished revolutionary realist tradition of the May Fourth Movement, which right from the beginning of the new literature reflected the realities of society and had the promotion of social progress as its creative tendency. This spirit was expressed in creative practice; in selecting material for his fiction, Lu Xun "chose mostly unfortunate people from a morbid society with the idea of exposing sickness and suffering and thus draw attention to the need for cure and help." He wrote his fiction with the purpose in mind of "using its power to reform society." ("Anthology of Mixed Dialects," "My Way of Writing Fiction") In an article entitled "What is Literature," Shen Yanbing [3088 7158 0393] also said when writing on the literary creation at the time of the May Fourth Movement: "All the new literary movements of recent years are tending to attack 'the false' and are making efforts to present the truth, which by now has become almost the common mark of these movements;" "the realism of the new literature pays greatest attention to present accurate and serious material and to be absolutely true to facts in its descriptions." Many writers and artists of those days were on the whole striving to be truthful to real life. Since they were living in the new era of a people's revolution, they themselves felt the fervent desire to reform society and therefore wanted to depict the real picture of the life as they had become familiar with it or as they had experienced it, in the hope of arousing the readers' sympathy and to promote the reform and progress of society. To achieve this,

it was necessary to demand of the writers and artists that they take their place in the forefront of their time, to free themselves of old ideas and to look reality in the face, courageously expose the contradictions of society and express their own feelings, be they hate or love. This is the main spirit of the revolutionary realist tradition that started with the literary revolution of the May Fourth Movement, a tradition of which Lu Xun is the outstanding representative.

The end of the twenties saw the beginning of the advocacy of a proletarian revolutionary literature, which one step further set forth the proposal that "the literature and art that we need now must be literature and art expounding the standpoint of the fourthestate. The form of this literature is to be realism, its content socialism." (Guo Morou, "Awareness of WRiters and Artists") As the revolutionary literary and art movement developed, many people felt that two questions in the area of creation must be earnestly solved: first, how to unify proletarian ideological demands, i.e. tendentiousness, with the demand of artistic truthfulness, and second, how to establish and solve the contradiction between the historical demand for revolutionary literature to depict the masses of workers and peasants and the unfamiliarity of writers and artists with the lives of workers and peasants. Many historical writings of the thirties coming from the left-wing literary and art movement actually argue around these two questions when discussing creation. They are real problems that realist literature encounters in its development, and questions that must be dealt with seriously. The Chinese revolutionary literary movement has taken a tortuous course in recognizing and solving these two problems. Among the early advocates of proletarian revolutionary literature, some mixed up the writer's world view with his creative methods, the method of recognizing reality with the artistic method of vivid depiction of reality, and demanded that the writers should make an undisguised display of their own political tendentiousness. They also believed that creation did not require actual "life experience," but that this could be replaced by "observation" and "imagination." They disregarded the fundamental conditions of the writer's life and demanded unduly that the writer give expression on "important topics" of which he had no intimate knowledge. In actual fact this negates the duty of the writer to acquaint himself with the life of the masses of the people, and is a lopsided theory that has already led to a temporary tendency of deviation from realism and to formalist notions. After 1932, we criticized the so-called dialectical materialist theory of creative methods and emphasized the unity of world view and creative method and the unity of political tendentiousness and objective truthfulness, pointing out that "the more truthfully and comprehensively reality can be reflected, and the more the objective truth can be grasped, the more literature and art become the weapon in the great struggle." (Feng Xuefeng [7458 7185 1496], "About the Tendency and Theory of 'The Third Kind of Literature'") This was a great step forward in the realization of the relationship between literature and art and life. Following the introduction of the Marxist literary and art theory and of Soviet works of the Lenin-Stalin era, new developments were achieved in the revolutionary realism of modern literature. The explanations given by Engels of the classical writings on realism and Lenin's ideas on the principle of party consciousness of literature had an enormous effect in guiding our

progressive writers. Of course, theories can only have the effect of guidance and assistance and cannot render it unnecessary for writers and artists to observe and take cognizance of life. However, the rather remarkable achievements of the creations in the thirties are inseparably linked with the guidance from the newly launched left-wing literary and art movement and the creative methods of socialist realism. In 1934 at the First Congress of Soviet WRiters, chaired by Gorki, the creative method of socialist realism was written into the statutes of the Union of Soviet WRiters. The statutes read: Socialist realism "demands that artists portray reality from with the real revolutionary developments in a truthful, historical and substantial manner. At the same time the truthfulness and historical substantiality of the artistic portrayal must be integrated with the socialist spirit of ideologically reforming and educating the working people." Because "the revolutionary literary movement of the proletariat was the one and only literary movement" in the China of the thirties ("Two Heart Anthology," "The Dark Conditions of China's Literary and Art Circles"), the preliminary deliberations, preparations and the convening of the All-Soviet Congress of Writers and Artists was immediately introduced into China, and its theoretical side further explored in connection with actual creations. The progressive writers and artists of China strove to promote "personal contacts with life" and "writing what one is most familiar with," which resulted in fairly abundant and rewarding gains as far as new creations were concerned. Lu Xun pointed out: "There are now many people who believe in portraying the present hardships and sufferings and the present fight of the people, which is of course not at all wrong, but if one is not personally in the vortex of it, there is no way to portray it, and if one does it from imagination, it will certainly not be vivid and deepgoing and therefore not turn out to be art. In my opinion an artist should therefore portray only what he has experienced. Of course it necessitates leaving one's study, but if one is not involved in any stirring events, it will also do to portray the ordinary social conditions that one witnesses. Although one cannot say that the Japanese ukiyoe [genre woodcuts] have any great topics, they are still of artistic value. If the social conditions are not all the same, one need of course not stick to one point." ("To Li Hua," [262i 290i] 4 February 1935) Lu Xun's ideas on the one hand upheld the principle of realist creation that the writer should write only on the life that he is familiar with, but Lu Xun at the same time started out from the actual circumstances and conditions that prevailed at that time in the movement for proletarian revolutionary literature (the reactionary political rule and its oppression prevented writers from involving themselves deeply in the vortex of the struggle of the masses). Lu Xun soberly realized, if the writers would really want to familiarize themselves and truthfully portray the life and struggle of the masses of workers and peasants, that means, if they wanted to solve the basic problem of the writers remaining unfamiliar with the life of the working people, it would require quite a different set of "social conditions." These historical conditions were obviously not yet provided in Lu Xun's times.

Under the conditions of the new era of "power being in the hands of the masses of the people for the first time in China's history of several thousand years" ("The Talks"), Comrade Mao Zedong upheld the principle of the materialist theory of reflection. He first of all clearly and definitely pointed

out that the social life "is the inexhaustible source of all literature and art and the only source." The writer's and artist's stand and world outlook are indeed important, but if he remains in a state of "not being familiar with and not understanding" the life of the masses, he is bound to end up in the predicament of "the hero with no place to display his prowess." It is very true that only by writing about what one is most familiar with will one be able to truthfully reflect life, but if a writer's intimate knowledge is limited to the trivial affairs within the narrow confines of his own life, he would not be able to write about the surging life and struggle of the masses and thus of course also not suit the needs of the new era. Revolutionary realism therefore demands that the writer not stop at writing on what he himself is most familiar with, but that he must adapt to the historical developments and familiarize himself with the things that had been unfamiliar to him before. Comrade Mao Zedong emphatically pointed out that the revolutionary writers "must for a long period of time unreservedly and wholeheartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, go into the heat of the struggle, the broadest and richest source, in order to observe, experience, study and analyze all the different kinds of people, all the classes, all the masses, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, all the raw materials of literature and art. Only then can they proceed to creative work." These words emphasize the importance of the writer involving himself deeply in the life of the masses in order to remold his ideology and familiarize himself with the objects of his portrayals. The words also reveal how to solve the long-standing contradiction between the historical demand of portraying the life of the masses of workers and peasants and the writer's complete lack of familiarity with these matters. This is a new development in the realist revolutionary tradition which is not only of great theoretical significance but also a clear indication to every writer of the path of concrete practice. On the question of studies to be undertaken by the workers in literature and art, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out the double task of "studying Marxism-Leninism and studying society," precisely raising the two aspects of establishing a correct world outlook and of familiarizing oneself with the life of society, because only in this way can the writer "create a variety of characters out of real life and help the masses to propel history forward." The ideas expressed here by Comrade Mao Zedong scientifically reveal the realist law of literary and artistic creation, while the objective conditions of "political power resting in the hands of the people" provide the writers with "the complete freedom to go among the masses," thus providing the actual possibility to realize these ideas. They may therefore be speedily transformed into material force. By deeply involving themselves in the life of the masses, many writers have created images of workers, peasants and soldiers, that were welcomed by the people, that had distinct individuality, that were authentic and believable, have thus inaugurated a new phase in modern literature. Many new creations in the liberated areas have had a rich flavor of life and displayed the unity of a distinct ideological tendentiousness and artistic truthfulness, indicating that the realist creation in our country's modern literature had reached a new height.

In his "Talks," Comrade Mao Zedong especially emphasized the importance of ideological remolding for the purpose of arriving at a solution for the re-

relationship between the subjective and objective factors the writer is faced with. Speaking of what constitutes the revolutionary realism in the creative method or principles of creation, in addition to the major guiding effect of his world outlook, the writer who is truly intent on reflecting life according to its original aspects still must study and explore the many problems of artistic laws. Speaking of the guiding effect of world outlook on the writer's creation, it is of course extremely important, but if the world outlook is emphasized as something absolute or to the extent of being the decisive factor, as was done during the 10 years of disaster, this will finally and inevitably end in denying the fundamental principle that life must be the starting point, that life must be truthfully reproduced, and will land the writer in the quagmire of idealism and antirealism, because a good piece of writing depends on many conditions. Even if the writer has involved himself for a long time in life, also in his mentality and sentiments is not at all separated from the working people, he merely possesses one important requirement of a revolutionary writer, but that does not guarantee at all that he can produce excellent and accomplished pieces of writing. What is further required are such elements as the writer's ability to take cognizance of life and be deeply impressed with life, his ability to accumulate source material, refine and process it properly, his artistic training and his skill of expression, etc. Right at the beginning of his "Talks," Comrade Mao Zedong says that his purpose was to "examine the relationship between work in the literary and artistic field and revolutionary work in general." He spoke based on the demands of revolutionary work and in line with the aims of the rectification movement, and not especially on the artistic laws of realist creation. This is a point that workers in the field of literary and art theory should study in depth. We can therefore not assume that topics not touched in his speech are matters of no consequence. The important thing is, viewed from the aspect of modern literary history, that the "Talks" have truly enriched and developed the revolutionary realist tradition that started with the May Fourth Movement and that the "Talks" have had a significant effect on propelling history forward.

3. Concerning "The Struggle on Two Fronts on Questions of Literature and Art"

In his "Talks" Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "We oppose both the tendency to produce works of art with a wrong political viewpoint and the tendency toward the 'poster and slogan style' which is correct in political viewpoint but lacking in artistic power. On questions of literature and art we must carry on a struggle on two fronts." Investigating the situation in the light of the modern literary development, we must say that we engaged indeed in a struggle on two fronts since the time of the May Fourth Movement, and that Comrade Mao Zedong correctly summed up the experience since the May Fourth Movement when he clearly set forth the above-mentioned demand. Of course, whatever tendency is being opposed at a certain time is determined mainly by the specific circumstances of that time, and furthermore when opposing a certain erroneous tendency, one must not overlook the existence of other erroneous tendencies. This is an experience and lesson that deserves our serious attention also in the case of modern literature. Since the modern literature that started with the May Fourth Movement

"breathed the same breath and throbbed with the same pulse" as the Chinese new democratic revolution, and since the ideological struggle was the major form adopted by the proletariat to assert its leadership role, the struggle against erroneous ideological tendencies therefore permeated the history of modern literature from beginning to end, and the thread of its course is extremely clear. Lu Xun's essays fully reflect the course of the ideological struggle. The main thrust of this struggle was of course first of all against feudal literature, comprador literature and the fascist literature of the reactionaries, and in second line a struggle against the bourgeois literary ideology, for instance, giving literature supremacy over everything else and such other various ideologies that would lead the people to despondent, pleasure-seeking or even decadent and degenerate tendencies. As to the main themes of the struggle, they too bear the distinct mark of their time and reflect the path along which modern literature developed, as, for instance, the controversy over literary or vernacular language, over the class nature of literature and art, over the relationship of literature and art to actual politics or the controversy over the worker-peasant-soldier orientation of literature and art, etc. These controversies were not limited to the theoretical field, but also touched upon the content and tendencies in the actual creations. As to the criticism of literary and art works, we have also all along stressed analysis and evaluation of ideological content.

This is one important way of guiding the mentality of many writers and artists in their progress, and it is moreover a very effective way indeed. Speaking of our front in the struggle against erroneous ideologies, we have not only persevered in this struggle for a long period of time, but have also had successes and can register worthwhile contributions. A clear proof to that effect is the criticism in the "Talks" of the "various muddled ideas" that existed at that time. Of course in summing up all our historical experiences, we must admit that our criticism and struggle were at times in certain places not accurately presented or went too far. The problem that are involved here are of the theoretical level, of ways and means employed, of the relationship between the attack aspect and the solidarity aspect, etc.; all these items would require analysis based on the specific historical circumstances of the time. However, in general, this struggle undoubtedly had a great impact on broadening the ideological front of the proletariat and on promoting the progress among writers and artists as well as on promoting the further development of literary and art creations.

The level of literary development and the success of a piece of writing or of art at a certain period in the history of literature is revealed, in the final analysis, by its artistic quality and social effect. Lu Xun therefore pointed out that works like "The Diary of a Madman" "demonstrated the actual accomplishment of the literary revolution, as they pointed out the ideological significance of the revolution's direction against the old Confucian ethical code, and also pointed out the social effect as it stirred its readers by the sympathetic way of its presentation and the special character of its form." ("Preface to Volume 2, Fiction Section, The Great Anthology of Modern Chinese Literature") As to the revolutionary literary movement of the left-wing writers of the thirties, Lu Xun already pointed out clearly the idea

that "proletarian literature is one wing of the fight for freedom of the proletarian class." ("My view on the League of Left-Wing Writers") Lu Xun urged the writers to consciously link their own literary work with the overall revolutionary undertaking of the proletariat and to show a distinctive ideological tendency. However, he also pointed out that "what we need is not merely a slogan or artificial tail stuck to the end of pieces of writing, but rather that the whole piece must be true to life, show a fighting spirit "as of live dragons and tigers," a vigorously throbbing pulse, ideological content and enthusiasm, etc." ("On Our Present Literary Movement") He demanded that writers and artists integrate political tendentiousness with artistic truthfulness. Already in the early years of our country's movement for a proletarian revolutionary literature, there had been the erroneous tendency of denouncing artistic skill as "a bourgeois thing" and of radically rejecting it. Lu Xun resolutely fought this kind of "leftist" infantile disorder. He clearly and definitely pointed out: "The reason why the revolution wants to use literature and art in addition to slogans, posters, announcements, telegrams, textbooks...is because it is literature and art," ("Literature and Art and the Revolution") and for this reason it is necessary "first, to strive for a substantial content and for high artistic accomplishment" (Ibid.) and for an integration of both these qualities. Lu Xun believed a proletarian writer who is "loyal to his own class" must be "loyal to this own art," ("Again On 'The Third Kind of Person'") and that the pursuit of quality in a piece of art is absolutely a basic obligation of the proletarian literature. Many accomplished writers and artists throughout the history of modern literature have exerted themselves in this direction.

While we firmly persevere in the ideological struggle ever since the May Fourth Movement, we are fighting equally resolutely at the same time the tendency of neglecting the artistic aspects. It seems that there is a continuous thread and a tradition also in our fight on the other front. Mao Dun while in charge of the SHORT STORY MONTHLY, wrote many articles that were in character "criticisms of creative writing," and in these he criticized such shortcomings of the contemporary literature as lack of truthfulness, neglect of social background, etc. He believed that the fiction of those days "lacked vitality and individuality," and he pointed out that literary creation "must have passed through a certain period of life experience;" "even a talented person cannot produce anything worthwhile if he locks himself up in his small room and studies fiction all day and night." ("Responsibility and Efforts of Students of New Literature") In criticizing Yang Zhensheng's [2799 2182 5116] novel "Yu Jun," Lu Xun wrote that Yang is trying to "fabricate artificially an ideal character," and furthermore pointedly states that "Yu Jun" was written according to a fixed rule that "a short story writer is a good liar," and that the Yu Jun character is "merely a puppet; she is dead as soon as she comes into this world." In his article "'Hard Translation' and the Class Character of Literature" in 1930, Lu Xun criticized the literary creations of the late twenties as showing a tendency of "poster and slogan-type" literature, writing: "Since the year before last, there have indeed been many Chinese poems, songs and short stories that included slogans and poster-type phrases and were then given out as proletarian literature. However, because certain works show no special proletarian literature. However, because certain works shown no special proletarian flavor in content or form, do not use slogans and poster-type

phrases and do not show themselves off in any way as 'new developments,' such writings are in actual fact by no means not proletarian literature believed in those days that the proletariat was "a newly arisen class and of course immature and simple in its literary capabilities," citing this in defense of the inferior quality of the literary creations, while they paid no attention to raising the "literary capabilities." This impeded the development of the proletarian revolutionary literature. Lu Xun declared clearly and definitely: "It will not do to have merely a good theme, there must also be good artistic skill." ("Collected Letters Written by Lu Xun," "Letter to Chen Yanqiao [7115 3533 2890]") Our modern literature originated in the struggle with the "art for art's sake" tendency, but it also fought unremittingly a protracted struggle against the formalist viewpoint of neglecting the artistic features and of enying all artistic rules. Obvious evidence of this are the criticisms of the "revolution with a love theme" and the discussion of the "stereotype writing of the war of resistance period" during the early years of the League of Left-Wing Writers. We have therefore a long experience in fighting on the front of neglecting artistic quality.

On the basis of all experiences since the May Fourth Movement, Comrade Mao Zedong made the demand in his "Talks" to engage in the battle on two fronts on the literary and art question. His presentation on the one hand took in all the historical characteristics of modern literary development and on the other hand expressed the objective laws of creation and will therefore be of a guiding significance far into the future. At the time of the convening of the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art, the political problem was of an especially important and intense significance. The primary historical task of the time was to mobilize all forces in the service of the political objective, which was the realization of national liberation, and literature and art were of course of necessity part of the forces to be thus mobilized. Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks" were published to serve as a guide in the rectification movement. Among the literary and art circles in the liberated areas of those days, there prevailed indeed the unhealthy state of the "three styles of work" [bureaucratic, subjective, sectarian], and it was therefore only natural that he made opposition to erroneous ideologies the focal point of the "struggle on two fronts" at that time. Comrade Mao Zedong presented his demands on literature and art in his capacity of a proletarian politician, his main attention being focussed on the "relationship between literary and art work and the general revolutionary work." In his "Talks" he therefore specially emphasized that "proletarian literature and art are part of the overall revolutionary undertaking of the proletariat, they are, in the words of Lenin, the 'cogs and wheels' of the entire revolutionary machinery," but he did not emphasize simultaneously Lenin's ideas that "the literary part of the proletarian party's undertakings must not be mechanically treated in an equal way with the other parts of the proletarian party's undertakings;" "in this undertaking we must absolutely ensure a vast field of individual creativity and personal interests" ("Party Organization and Party Literature") Comrade Mao Zedong specially emphasized that "literature and art are subordinate to politics, but in their turn exert a great influence on politics," but did not make many more statements of emphasis or elaboration on the special characteristics of art or its laws. All these statements must be understood and analyzed under the historical condi-

tions and against the background of that time, and under no circumstances can we assume that Comrade Mao Zedong did not give attention to the importance of the special characteristics of literature and art. In fact, even when he published his "Talks," he did not overlook the other tendencies that appeared in the literary and art work and did not neglect the other front of the struggle. In his "Talks" he not only pointed out that "politics cannot be equated with art, nor can a general world outlook be equated with a method of artistic creation and criticism." He notonly pointed out that "Works that lack artistic quality have no force however progressive they are politically," and "one must allow free competition of all varieties of art work," adding the clear statement that the contemporary literary and art works "neglected artistic tendencies and made it necessary to give attention to the improvement of artistic quality." We must gain a good grasp of Comrade Mao Zedong's ideas on the "battle on two fronts," sum up the historical experiences and lessons from throughout the development of modern literature and raise artistic qualities. This is the only way in which we will be more effective in serving socialism.

There are mainly two reasons for the continued appearance of "poster and slogantype" literary works that tend to formularize and generalize: one is of course that the author has an insufficient fund of life experiences, for which the only cure is deeper involvement in life and gaining greater familiarity with the objects that one wants to depict; the other reason is definitely connected with the author's limited capability for artistic expression, for which the only cure is constant efforts at improving one's artistic expression, for which the only cure is constant efforts at improving one's artistic proficiency and striving to achieve it in the process of creative practice. The improvement of artistic quality requires notonly the mentality and desire to serve the people, but also the excellent capability needed for serving the people. If we examine the creative achievements in modern literature since the May Fourth Movement, there are indeed works created after the "Talks" that depict people of a new type and a new world altogether, signifiying a noteworthy advance in the relationship between literature and the people and eliminating certain basic weaknesses in the literary works since the May Fourth Movement, but looking at the successes achieved by famous writers, we see that we will have not yet attained the high levels of the older generation writers, such as Lu Xun and Mao Dun. This, we are afraid, must be blamed on the great discrepancy in educational background and artistic training. To refer to one fact, the writers of the older generation have engaged in the translation of certain famous items of world literature; men like Lu Xun, Guo Moruo, Mao Dun, Ba Jin [1572 6855], Cao Yu [2580 4417], Xia Yan [1115 5888] have all done so. We do not mean to say that it is necessary to follow their example, we only mean to show that these men were proficient in one foreign language and familiar with foreign literature, and that this was part of their solid literary upbringing. Similarly, writers like Lu Xun, Guo Morou, Mao Dun, Wen Yiduo [5113 0001 1122], Zhu Ziqing [2612 5261 3237], Zheng Zhenduo [6774 2182 6995], Ye Shengtao [0673 5110 7118] have all produced studies on Chinese classical literature, and some of them even became famous scholars and theorists. Their many-sided training and education broadened their vision and enabled them to gather in the excellence from a broad field of

sources for their own practical application, and this undoubtedly was of great assistance to their creative achievements. Precisely as Lu Xun expressed it, literary creation "must emulate the bees; they produce honey only after gathering in from many flowers. If a person sticks to one place, his production will be extremely limited, dull and dry." ("Collected Letters Written by Lu Xun," "Letter to Yan Limin [7346 7812 3046]") In those days many writers in the liberated areas plunged into the fiery struggle as the revolutionary situation quickly unfolded and worked for many years under arduous conditions, which makes it fully understandable that they suffered certain limitations as far as political studies were concerned. Today's conditions are quite different. We have already entered a new historical period. In order to enrich socialist literary and art and in order to ascend to new heights in literature and art, we must draw from the experiences and lessons of the past and firmly uphold Comrade Mao Zedong's idea of "fighting on two fronts."

4. On Inheriting and Carrying Forward Our National Tradition

Our modern literature is the latest development in the several thousand years of Chinese literary history, and its relation with the classical literature has to be one of inheritance and reform. The historical bond between the two kinds of literature is inseparable. The literary history of every nation has its unique features and style, and these national characteristics are closely related with the life style and esthetic tendencies of the people, and over long periods of time form a national tradition. Of course all national characteristics have their historical patterns, and national traditions are in a continuous stage of development and should not be construed as solidified and rigid. This kind of development signifies reform and innovation. For a long time, our modern literature has been referred to as the "new literature," pointing to its characteristic feature of being filled with reformist innovative spirit, beginning at the time of the May Fourth Movement, adapting to the demands of the democratic revolution and consciously emulating the progressive literatures of foreign countries. When talking of the literary revolution, Lu Xun pointed out: "On the one hand it complied with the demands of society, and on the other hand it became influenced by Western literatures." ("Brief Forward to 'Feet in Straw Sandals'") Because of the pitiful backwardness, ideologically and culturally, the trend for modernization that advocated democracy and science, of course also demanded that literature assume a modern character, and for this reason it became a kind of conscious act that our modern literature in its development emulated and drew lessons from the progressive literatures of foreign countries. This became a major point in the reform movement, and, what is more important, it also played an active role in promoting the development of the new literature. However, this is not to say that our modern literature has no connections to the national tradition. Not only that literary creation displayed vividly the national characteristics in their reflections of social life and in adapting to the tastes and customs of the people, but there was also the fact that the education and literary and artistic upbringing of many writers was deeply rooted in the traditional culture of our nation, which is an important reason why our modern literature is rich in distinctive national features. It is only to draw a clear

line of demarcation against conservative chauvinism and to carry on the fight against feudalism that few people presented comprehensive theoretical expositions on this subject. We can summarize it this way: the foreign influences in our modern literature have been consciously sought and pursued, while the national tradition has formed naturally. The trend that was followed was to assimilate the imported components and render them national characteristics and furthermore to adapt the national traditions to the demands for modernization. In Lu Xun's words: "All converged with the world's modern trends, but without in the least putting shackles on or destroying the Chinese national essence." It meant demanding that the literary development accord with the democratic socialist direction, however, "there was to be in it also the Chinese soul of old." ("On the Occasion of the Exhibition of Paintings of Tao Yuanqing [7118 0337 1987]") There are indeed enormous innovations in our modern literature compared with the literature of the past, but on the other hand it is also carrying on and developing the national tradition.

If the literary creations of a nation or an individual writer show distinct national traits, this is an indication of maturity. Works that have no national features cannot be counted as having any world significance. The history of our Chinese literature is not only a very long one, but also one that forms an uninterrupted stream and constitutes an important organic component of our national cultural tradition. In the long course of developments, we also accepted foreign influences. For instance, the Buddhist literature from India exerted a vigorous influence on the Chinese short story and the drama, but after a certain process and phase, the foreign influences became like nourishment for future development on the basis of the Chinese literary foundation and were gradually absorbed, becoming organic components. Our nation is a developing and advancing nation. In the course of its development, it has always courageously and willingly accepted all foreign elements that proved useful. In his article "Thoughts Before the Mirror," Lu Xun praised the example of self-initiated absorptions of foreign literatures in the Han and Tang eras, which is a clear proof of such an attitude. It is only toward the end of the feudal era that a chauvinist ideology gradually gained dominance. It was then that a stubborn conservatism adopted a hostile attitude toward everything new, and this led to the decline in national strength and to cultural stagnation. It was therefore absolutely correct that the new literature movement of the May Fourth Movement adopted antichauvinism as one of its important tasks. The chauvinists did not esteem our national cultural tradition and our splendid literary heritage at all. All they aimed to preserve was the feudal dregs and all kinds of outmoded conventions and bad customs. Without doubt it was therefore extremely necessary to smash these obstinate conservative forces and to introduce and emulate the progressive literature of foreign countries. Even negative elements that were brought along on occasion proved effective at the time of the May Fourth Movement in the general emancipation of the minds and in the assault against the feudal culture.

Speaking of the mainstream of modern literature, the trend of introducing and emulating foreign literature was not at all in conflict with the demand to preserve and carry forward our national tradition. It was precisely

through the literary revolution of the May Fourth Movement that China's literary heritage was newly evaluated, and that formerly disregarded branches, as the short story, the drama and folk literature, were raised to the position of genuine literature. Lu Xun was the first to study the history of the Chinese short story. He deplored that in China "the short story was never regarded as literature," ("Brief Foreword to 'Feet in Straw Sandals'") but it was also Lu Xun who at the beginning of his career "completely relied on the hundred or more foreign stories that he had previously read." ("How I Began to Write Short Stories") His own short stories on the one hand were deeply rooted in the realities of Chinese life, but actually stimulated and influenced by foreign literature. Of his later works, such as "Soap," "Divorce" and others, he said himself that they had been written "detached from the influences of foreign writers," ("Preface to Volume 2, Section Short Stories, Great Anthology of Chinese New Literature") but "detached" does not mean altogether free from influences. From studying and emulating to the stage of "detachment" was a process of absorbing and blending of foreign literatures and converting their useful components into organic parts of the modern literature of Chinese national character. This in actual fact reflects reform and innovation based on the foundation of inheritance and development of the national cultural tradition. Even though the inclinations, interests and the knowledge of the many writers of that time were not at all the same, the purpose of studying and emulating foreign literature and Chinese classical literature, everybody was generally agreed upon, was directed toward the one point of creating a new Chinese literature that would be welcomed by the reader audience. Speaking of the mainstream of modern literature and its developmental characteristics, the experiences, views and the special creative process of Lu Xun, who laid the foundation, are still highly representative.

The literary revolution of the May Fourth Movement had of course also its historical limitations and weaknesses, which manifested themselves particularly in the formalism, with which many approached their problems. In dealing with such problems as social life and literary heritage in relation to literary and artistic creation, the attitude toward the primary and secondary position of national tradition and foreign literatures, and of recognizing the sources of new literature, a great variety of lopsided views existed among the writers.

These attitudes and views have also influenced subsequent developments. For instance, Zhou Zuoren [0719 0155 0086] explained new literature as a continuation of our legacy from the "Gongan" and "Jingling" schools of literature of the Ming dynasty ("The Sources of Modern Chinese Literature"), and Hu Feng [5170 7364] explained it as "a newly erupting offshoot" of the European Renaissance. ("On the Question of National Form") They all overlooked the specific historical conditions and the basic realities of life and also one-sidedly exaggerated the results of one side-effect. Speaking of the developmental conditions of modern literature because the literary revolution came about in a situation of keen awareness of our fatherland's backwardness and when helpful material for our progress was eagerly sought from foreign countries, there was a widespread acceptance of foreign influences without any discriminating analysis. Some people were even suggesting "wholesale

Westernization" and adopted a nihilist attitude toward our national culture. This manifested itself in an over-Westernization in the language and artistic methods of certain works, in their very weak relations to the national tradition, in their wide disparity from the tastes and customs of the people, and resulted in these works being correspondingly less appreciated by the readers and having less of an influence. Propagating the mass-style of literature at the time of the League of Left-Wing Writers, experimenting with creations in the old style and the discussion of national forms in the early period of the war or resistance, were all acts to strengthen the national characteristics in modern literature and efforts to adapt it to the tastes and customs of the masses of the people. This shows that rendering literature more national in essence is also a question of popularization and of a healthy development of modern literature and that it is to be acknowledged as such.

At the same time that Comrade Mao Zedong affirmed that "literature and art have been an important and fruitful part [of the revolutionary movement]" since the May Fourth Movement ("The Talks"), he also saw the shortcomings that existed in it. One of the shortcomings was that the degree of its national element was still far from sufficient. In his "On New Democracy" he defined the "national element" as the primary characteristic of the new-democratic culture and also explained in detail that the new culture must "be replete with our national characteristics." As early as 1938, Comrade Mao Zedong said in his article "The Role of the CPC in the National War:" "The Foreign stereotypes must be abolished, there must be less singing of empty, abstract tunes, dogmatism be laid to rest and replaced by fresh and lively Chinese styles and Chinese spirit which the Chinese common people love to hear and see." In the "Talks" he expounded the principle that life is the only source for literature and art. I fne would not take life, but rather erroneously take the literary heritage as source and engage in creation, one is bound to fall into the pitfall of "mechanical copying and imitating," which is "the most sterile and most harmful dogmatism in literature and art." We know that dogmatism was one of the main targets of the literary rectification of that time, and the statement here was therefore made in his sharp tone. The target it aimed at was the phenomenon of "mechanical copying and imitating," on which subject the "On New Democracy" pointed out that "all foreign matter must not be swallowed raw and whole and completely uncritically." The "Talks" also clearly and definitely point out: "We should take over the rich legacy and the good traditions in literature and art that have been handed down from past ages in China and foreign countries, but the aim must still be to serve the masses of the people." In the interest of advancing our new literature, we should of course take over every fine item in the literary heritage of mankind, but according to Comrade Mao Zedong's consistent view, we must in the first place take over and carry forward our own national tradition. The fine literary heritage of foreign countries should of course also be extensively studied and emulated, but since our purpose is to build up a new literature with our own national characteristics, these studies must be in the nature of taking in nourishment and must fully accord with the demand for greater national characteristics in our new literature. The priorities here are absolutely clear, The goal is always to reform, innovate and create. Comrade Mao Zedong himself later summarized his ideas

on dealing with the Chinese and foreign literary heritage simply and clearly in two sentences: "Using the past to serve the present and making foreign things serve China." This explains unambiguously that we should study everything that excelled in the cultural heritage of the past, but that we must also modernize these items and impart our national characteristics to them before applying them. We must say that this idea is a profound summing up of the experiences and lessons gathered in the developmental process of modern literature, and that the idea is significant as a guide far into the future for the construction of our socialist culture.

The "Talks" do not contain a full discussion of the taking over and carrying forward of our national tradition as it relates to the study of foreign literatures because the "Talks" did not consider this a major question that it intended to solve. In the "Talks" Comrade Mao Zedong merely emphasized the importance of drawing lessons from the literary heritage of China and of foreign countries for the benefit of our own creative work. However, it is not only that the artistic experiences and skills of the past can provide us with lessons for today's creative work, but it is rather as Lenin expressed it: "It is only by an exact understanding of the culture created by mankind in the entire course of its development and only by transforming this culture, that we can build up a proletarian culture." ("Duties of the Young League") This expresses that not only artistic experiences, but the cultural heritage of the past too is rich nourishment from which writers and artists should draw wisdom and ideas. "Weeding out the old" can allow "bringing forth the new," but if it is a matter of creative work and development, there has to be taking over from the past and reform and innovation. We must broaden our field of vision, extensively study all excellent literary works of foreign countries, but at the time also absorb the experiences and lessons since the May Fourth Movement, be clear and definite about the goal of our studies and under no circumstances engage in mechanical copying and imitating. We are now facing a new era of extensive cultural exchanges between various countries. Literary and artistic trends and the works of various schools of thought and their techniques keep pouring into our country, which in some respects resembles the situation at the time of the May Fourth Movement. This situation requires of us to maintain our own initiative and to accurately analyze and assess these trends and not to follow the example of certain people of the May Fourth Movement who blindly worshipped every bit of foreign culture. We should adhere to the principle of learning from foreign countries, but always give priority to the continuation and development of our own national tradition. Not only that we have a rich national cultural tradition of several thousand years, but now we also have a new tradition since the May Fourth Movement which shows all modern characteristics. It is the tradition of our modern literature which is replete with reformist innovative spirit and has Lu Xun as its representative. This new tradition is extremely important for the construction of our new socialist culture.

5. On the Problem of Our Literary and Art Congingent

In his "Talks" Comrade Mao Zedong affirmed the great contribution of the revolutionary literary movement since the May Fourth Movement. This has a

direct bearing on having had a contingent of writers and intellectuals at our disposal who with great patriotism pursued progress, reform and innovation. Even though most writers and artists at the time of the May Fourth Movement were still democrats, but according to what they wrote, some reflected the vexations, progress and pursuit of the intellectuals, some described the worries of the masses of the urban petty bourgeoisie, their struggle and disintegration, others again exposed the cruelty, degeneration and decay of a large number of the rulers or people of the upper circle and revealed the apathy, misery and resistance of the people in the lower strata of society. Judging by their general tendency, these writings depicted the life and desires of the people and were in line with the general anti-imperialist, anti-feudal political line of the new-democratic revolution. They were therefore also well received by the people and made a deserved contribution to the progress of society, yet they still belonged to the category of democratic literature and ideologically had their weak points. The question has to assess the role and contributions of democratic literature is closely linked with the question of assessing the position and weak points of the petty bourgeois writers. In the early days of the proletarian revolutionary literary movement, there had appeared movements opposing the petty bourgeois writers who had "lost status," movements that totally repudiated democratic literature, and, related to this, movements that basically denied the leading role of the proletarian ideology in the May Fourth Movement and its influence on the petty bourgeois writers and the democratic literature, regarding the literary revolution of the May Fourth Movement as a completely bourgeois movement. It was exactly Lu Xun in the fight against the "leftist" standpoint who fully affirmed that the literary revolution the the May Fourth Movement "without doubt was a revolutionary movement," and that the democratic literature of the May Fourth Movement, including his own writings, "can Preface to 'My Selected Works'" On the question of how to deal with the petty bourgeois writers and their works, Lu Xun conscientiously studied the debates and historical experiences made in the revolutionary literary movement of the international proletariat concerning the fellow travellers from the petty bourgeoisie. His conclusion was: "The left-wing writer is not at all a spirit warrior that dropped from the sky, nor a hated enemy that fought his way in from abroad, he is someone who not only wants the fellow traveller who had already made a few steps together along the common road to come along further, but also beckons to the onlooker standing beside the road to come along on the forward progression." ("On 'The Third Kind of Man'") However, Lu Xun simultaneously pointed out: "The prerequisite of a united front is a common goal." ("My Views on the League of Left-Wing Writers") In the united front the proletarian writers must, depending on different conditions, firmly uphold their principles and extend their ideological influence. Lu Xun said: "In this mixed crowd, some will be able to advance with the revolution and respond sympathetically, but some will seize the opportunity to harm, weaken and misrepresent the revolution. The left-wing theorist has the task to make proper analyses." ("Again On 'The Third Kind of Man'") Here he affirms the progressive role and contribution of the democratic literature, but also points out the leading role of the proletarian writer in analyzing and assisting, in uniting with his allies and criticizing them, a role that must not be neglected. At the time of the May Fourth Movement, the proletarian literature was still in its embryonic

stage, and the "socialist element" of which Comrade Mao Zedong speaks refers principally to delineating the direction and the road to take. Looking at the content of writings, there was still little Marxist ideology expressed in these creations, and the leading role of the proletariat manifested itself mainly in the thoroughness and uncompromising stand against imperialism and feudalism. The democratic literature is objectively an organic part of the cultural front directed by the proletariat, and many writers were indeed gradually changing their world view under the ideological influence of the proletariat. Later, the proletarian literature gradually grew up and acquired strength, but the progressive role of the democratic literature did not vanish at all. Up to the historical period of socialism, the democratic writers and artists were still allies that made up our literary and art contingent together with our proletarian writers and artists. Because of the historical conditions of China, the democratic literature not only had a large number of writers and a widespread influence, these writers were furthermore able to accept the leadership of the proletariat, had the desire to serve the people and therefore could very well constitute, together with the proletarian literature, the mainstream of the Chinese modern literature. The rise of a proletarian revolutionary literary movement first of all "came about at the start by changes that occurred in the revolutionary petty bourgeois writers, and by the later gradual mobilization of the new forces among the masses of the working people." (Qu Qiubai, "Preface to 'Selections of Lu Xun's Random Thoughts'") The evaluation and treatment of the petty bourgeois writers and of the democratic literature is therefore of greatest significance for the healthy development of our literary undertaking.

In his "On New Democracy" Comrade Mao Zedong first of all affirms the great significance of the May Fourth Movement as the starting point of the new-democratic revolution and affirms the nature of this movement as a united front and affirms the leading role of the proletarian cultural ideology. He also fully affirms the direction represented by Lu Xun as "the greatest and most courageous standard-bearer of the new army of the May Fourth Movement." It is common knowledge that the Lu Xun of the May Fourth Movement era was still a democrat, and Comrade Mao Zedong in summing up in 1940 the combat achievements of this "new cultural army" over the past 20 years fully affirmed Lu Xun's role as a "commander in chief," which of course also affirms the progressive role and historical contribution of the democratic literature since the May Fourth Movement. Looking at the actual conditions of this branch of the literary and art contingent, we note that many of its members, though they have had different experiences and lives at different times, had all aligned themselves in the process of their actual practice and step by step closely with the revolutionary mainstream and for the most part developing along the same ideological path as Lu Xun. The "Lu Xun course" has therefore a general significance. The contributions of many persons, although none equal to those of Lu Xun's, were advances along the same course, in the same relationship as a soldier to his general. This phenomenon is determined by the character of the people's revolution and by the historical road of the intellectuals, precisely as Lu Xun expressed it: "The later it got, the purer and the more of an elite force the contingent became." ("Unrevolutionary Eagerness for Revolution") The writers and

artists of the petty bourgeoisie had of course ideological weaknesses, and these could have negative influences on their creations, but we must not judge them in an abstract way by world outlook alone, divorced from the social practice (including their creative practice) or divorced from their political attitudes, as this would yield oversimplified conclusions. Even if we only judge by their works, the factors that would decide whether or not they are successful works are very complex. Although the world outlook is of greatest significance in guiding the creative work, it cannot be regarded as the only decisive factor. It is exactly on this question that our proletarian revolution in its early stages committed the "leftist" mistakes of sectarianism and closed-doorism. We must bear this lesson in mind.

Comrade Mao Zedong made a very incisive remark in his "Talks" on the subject of the united front in the area of literature and art. He put forward the idea that the proletarian writers and artists should unite with and also struggle against the broad masses of other writers and artists, within different spheres and depending on the different issues. Basing on the experiences in the revolutionary literary movement since the May Fourth Movement and in line with the historical task of the anti-Japanese war, he set forth that there is a basis for unity on the various issues of resistance against Japan, democracy, artistic methods and styles. "While there is unity on one issue, on another there is struggle and there is criticism. The issues are at once separate and interrelated, so that even on the very ones which give rise to unity, such a resistance against Japan, there are at the same time struggle and criticism." With regard to political and artistic trends, Comrade Mao Zedong here clarifies the basis for unity among the literary and art contingent on certain issues and also pointed out the need for struggle and criticism, because criticism among comrades who started out together from a desire for unity is quite normal, and furthermore this would constitute an important means of asserting the ideological leadership of the proletariat. Comrade Mao Zedong particularly pointed out that among the large literary and art contingent, "the petty bourgeois writers and artists constitute an important force in China." He affirmed that the petty bourgeois writers and artists had two points in their favor: one is that they were very close to the revolution, and one is that they were very close to the working people. This is consistent with his standards for evaluating writers and artists of the past, namely to test a writer's or an artist's attitude toward the people and whether he had had any significance historically as a progressive character. In the case of the Chinese petty bourgeois writers and artists, they indeed demanded a firm stand against imperialism and feudalism and also showed a desire to unite with the working people. Of course there were many shortcomings in their thinking and their works, and these would have to be gradually overcome in the course of actual practice. It would then evolve on the proletarian writers and artists to "help them overcome their shortcomings and win them over to the front which serves the people." It has to be said that this analysis by Comrade Mao Zedong is of strategic significance and fully accords with the actual conditions of the literary and art contingent. These ideas are significant even today as actual guidelines.

However, due to the fact that Comrade Mao Zedong made so strict demands on

the literary and art workers it seems his estimation of the literary and art contingent in the liberated area was somewhat too low, much as if there existed no proletarian writers and artists at all at that time, as if everybody to some extent was looking down upon the workers, peasants and soldiers, and moreover as if all stubbornly tried to project themselves and yielded to the petty bourgeoisie, "which in actual fact means yielding to the big landlord bourgeoisie and run the risk of undermining our party and our country." This estimation and presentation is inexact and detrimental to literary and art creation. A large number of literary and art workers in the liberated area had been engaged in revolutionary work for many years. There were also many who had taken refuge in the liberated area because they were opposed to the Kuomintang rule, and even though they may have had certain shortcomings, it is obviously not proper to mention them in one breath as the big landlord bourgeoisie (that is, the Kuomintang). Judging by the development of our revolutionary literature, we must say that by the time of the thirties there had been indeed already been proletarian writers and artists. Lu Xun praised the poems of Yin Fu [3009 1133, pseud. of Xu Zuhua, 1776 4371 5478] as "a great banner of love and a monument of hate" and "being out of this world." This is obviously an affirmation of a proletarian writer, not to mention the writings of Lu Xun himself. As to the contingent of literary and art workers in the liberated area, there is the recently published 1943 speech by Comrade Chen Yun [7115 0061], "On the Question of the Two Tendencies Among the Party's Literary and Art Workers," in which he spoke of the shortcomings in the work style of the literary and art workers, but at the same time pointed out that there was also the prime virtue in some comrades in that "they uphold the brightness and oppose darkness, that they support the workers, peasants and soldiers and oppose the invaders in a way that no one who is not a revolutionary or who opposes the revolution can match." It has to be said, this assessment agrees with the actual condition of the literary and art contingent in the liberated area at that time. The presentation in the "Talks" actually equates the petty bourgeoisie with the big landlord bourgeoisie and criticizes the petty bourgeois writers and artists for creating their works as "self-manifestation" which would "run the risk of undermining our party and our country," so that we should "tell this to them in a sharp tone." This kind of bias in the theoretical field will of course have been of a certain effect on the literary and art workers. Even though shortcomings may have existed in their thinking and in their works, many writers and artists of those days were wholehearted supporters of the revolution, but in order not to damage the revolutionary undertaking they rather refrained from writing about their subjective feelings, about petty bourgeois characters or about intellectuals. As a result there have been almost no lyric poems, no lyric prose and a few short stories told in the first person in whatever was written in the liberated area after 1942. All that was written were merely narrative poems that stressed objective descriptions, report literature and short stories with a strong storytelling character. Works that reflected topics of the petty bourgeoisie or the intellectuals were few, and if at all, these topics were namely used for satire and to provide targets for criticism. In brief, to avoid the accusation of "self-manifestation" writers did not dare to write on the "I." This meant that all fresh and distinct artistic individuality which would express the writer's unique artistic perception would be lost. The works

produced in the liberated area indeed took on a new appearance and inaugurated a new phase in modern literature, but their style was not sufficiently varied and there was no variety as of different artistic schools, which facts, we believe, are related to the writers and artists not showing sufficient fresh and distinct artistic individuality. Man is the principal subject when it comes to understanding the world, and the writers and artists can reflect real life through their own perception; they have the ability to use forms that directly express their feelings toward the objective reality. The problem lies in whether their feelings are in harmony with the people and does not lie in the ways they express their feelings. The self-manifestation that we generally oppose refers to literary and art works which manifest an unhealthy individualism, but we do not oppose artistic individualism and intense emotions. In the past, criticism of "self-manifestation" frequently overexpanded its meaning, even to the extent of rejecting certain sound items, and affirming and prettifying certain small-scale production or even feudal backward ideologies. This caused writers and artists to hesitate and shilly-shally in their creative work. In his poem "The Repartee," the Soviet poet Mayakovsky satyriized the proponents of the proletarian school of culture. The poem reads:

We of the proletarian school of culture
 Neither say "I"
 Nor talk of individual man,
 "I"
 In the eyes of the proletarian school of culture,
 In any case
 Will misbehave.

We are certainly not in favor of authors giving vent to those decadent, negative or exceedingly sentimentla feelings, but why should intense emotions that harmonize with those of the people and are full of contemporary sentiments not be expressed as the writer or artist experiences them? Comrade He Qifant [0149 0366 5364], who wrote "Night Songs" and a number of beautiful poems and essays, excelled in the lyric expression of emotions, but later admitted: "As from the spring of 1942 I did not write any more poems," and gave as his reason that the "study of theory, self-criticism and self-remolding are more important things than writing poetry." ("Postscript" to the first edition of "Night Songs") It is understandable that authors would decide to act in this manner out of a sense of responsibility for the revolution, but from the point of view of literary development, we cannot regard it as a proper and normal action. Similar occurrences frequently took place even after the liberation of the whole country. In his article criticizing Ding Line [0002 3781], for her article "The Chief of Army Provisions" Kang Sheng [1660 3932] said that she used the first person form of narration and that this was an individualist "self-manifestation." In our literary criticism and research we have for along time evaluated the democractic literature too low. We did not even acknowledge that in the socialist society, Marxism is still required to form an alliance with the democrats against feudal and superstitious backward ideologies, and we did not recognize the democratic literature as still constituting an

allied army of the proletarian literature, one example being the repeated criticism of the Ba Jin's writings. These occurrences are not altogether caused by the formulations in the "Talks," some even resulted from outright misrepresentations of the "Talks," but they are all the product of the social trend of mistrusting the intellectuals, and this mood of distrust is already initially shown in the "Talks," but they are all the product of the social trend of mistrusting the intellectuals, and this mood of distrust is already initially shown in the "Talks." It is precisely as Comrade Hu Qiaomu [5170 0829 2606] analyzed it: "We have to admit that Comrade Mao Zedong did not have a full understanding of the contemporary writers, artists and the intellectuals in general and did not place due trust in them." ("Some Questions on the Present Ideological Front") This trend of distrusting the intellectuals has deep social roots in our country where smallscale production predominates, but in the interest of a fruitful development of socialist literature we must under no circumstances follow the road of the past. Of course we want to develop a proletarian literature of its own, however, not only during the new-democratic revolution, but also in the era of socialism must we recognize democratic literature as an organic part of our entire literature. Our literary and art contingent must be a very broad one.

Comrade Mao Zedong's "Talks" is a historical document of Marxism-Leninism and we must firmly uphold its fundamental principles to guide us in our practice. It opened up a new phase in the history of modern literature and fundamentally changed the appearance of our literature. There have been people abroad who uttered the opinion that Chinese modern literature after the "Talks" entered on "a period of blight." (Sima Changfeng [0674 7456 7022 7634], "History of Modern Chinese Literature," published in Hong Kong) This view is completely contrary to the historical facts; it is a biased view. However, we must also not assume the doctrinaire attitude of considering the "Talks" as "sufficient for a whole lifetime." Comrade Mao Zedong put it well when he said: "The movement is developing, new things have yet to emerge, and they are emerging in an endless stream. To study this movement in its entirety and in its development is a great task claiming our constant attention. Whoever refuses to study these problems seriously and carefully is no Marxist." ("The Role of the CPC in the National War") We must firmly uphold these basic principles which indeed deserve to be upheld, but we must also sum up the experiences and lessons of history, study the new questions in the literary development, and unceasingly enrich and develop the Mao Zedong Thought in literature and art. As far as the workers in modern literary studies are concerned, the "Talks" are our guiding ideology as well as the object of our studies. We must therefore approach them in a strict, scientific and analytical attitude in order to ensure greater progress in our future work.

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